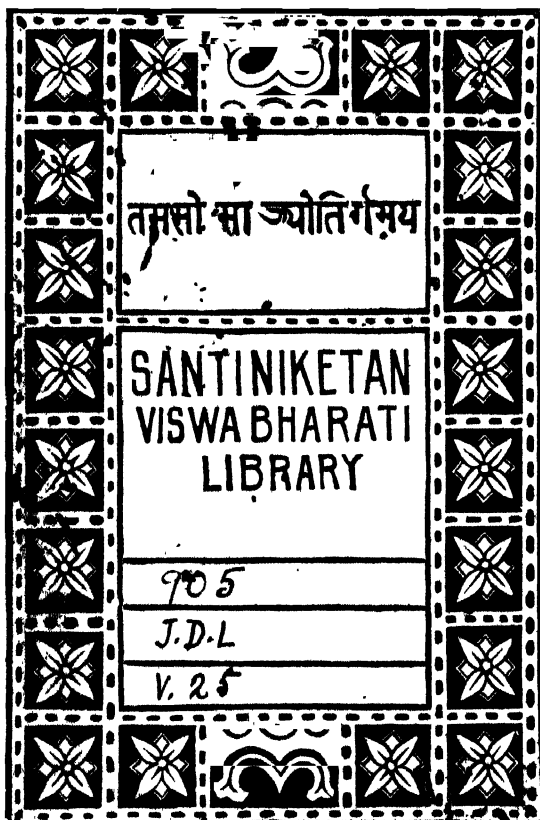


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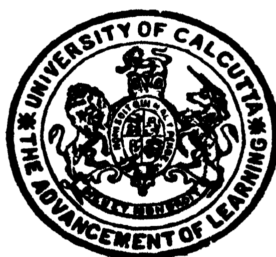
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CONTENTS

SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

BY

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We shall surely do grave injustice to the grammatical literature of India, if we are inclined to look upon grammar only as a number of aphorisms serving no other purpose than the formation and disintegration of words with which people are generally acquainted. In ancient India no enquiry was ever made that did not directly or indirectly aim at the realisation of spiritual truth and a great fulfilment of life. And no department of study seems to have been more fruitful than grammar in this respect.

The grammatical dissertations of the Hindus were not confined to a narrow field, nor were the Hindu grammarians content with mere formulation of rules for the formation of words. The spiritual aspect of sound seems to have made a deep impression upon their mind and left its stamp on their whole outlook regarding *śabda*. The *śābdikas* succeeded in discovering a way of spiritual discipline even through the labyrinthine mass of grammatical speculations. Enquiries into the ultimate nature of *vāk* led them to a sublime region of *sādhanā*—a region of perfect bliss and pure consciousness. The cultivation of grammar gave rise to a spiritual vision which, so to speak, enabled the *vāg-yogavid* to visualise Brahman in the wreath of letters (*varṇamālā*). Letters are denoted in Sanskrit by the same term (*akṣara*) as is often applied to Brahman. A glance at the

language in which *akṣara* has been interpreted by grammarians of old will serve to open our eyes to the supreme importance of *varṇas*.[1] To the spiritual insight of Patañjali *varṇas* were not only phonetic types but glowing sparks of Brahman illumining the entire sphere of existence :

वर्णज्ञानं वाग्विषयो यत्र च ब्रह्म वर्तते ।—

Vārttika.

सोयमक्षरसमाम्नायो वाक्समाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिमण्डितो वेदितव्यो ब्रह्मराशिः—

Mahābhāṣya. 1.1.2.

Besides its spiritual significance, Sanskrit grammar seems to be the only branch of study that can claim a sufficient degree of scientific precision in its enunciation of principles. It is a unique record of the development of Indian mind in the domain of linguistic pursuit. It is not too much to say that the science of grammar deserves a prominent place in the world of *śāstras*. It is rightly called the 'mouth of the Vedas,'[2] for it is intimately connected with the Vedas as one of the six *Vedāṅgas*. Grammar derives its importance from the fact of its being indispensable to the understanding of the Vedas. It is said that the study of grammar is a kind of religious practice the result of which is perceived without delay.[3] It is stated further that the cultivation of grammar is a path which ultimately leads to the pure light of God.[4] This is why Patañjali eulogised grammar as the most important member of the *Vedāṅgas*. Bhartṛhari, the philosopher-grammarian, has not only raised the status of grammar to the dignity of *Smṛti* and *Āgama* but has even gone to the length of

1 अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्—Mahābhāṣya, 1.1.2.

2 मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्—Śikṣā.

3 Vākyapadīya, 1. 12.

4 *Op. cit.*, 1. 12.

asserting that grammar is veritably the door to final beatitude.[1] Grammar is also said to be the purest of all branches of learning.[2] What is all the more striking is that the study of grammar has been declared to be the direct means of attaining the Supreme Being who, though One and without a second, appears to be manifold owing to the operation of *māyā*.[3]

The study of grammar represents a remarkable phase of Indian culture. No other country can boast of having produced such an extensive literature in the field of grammatical speculations, and in no other part of the world was the study of grammar carried on with so much zeal and assiduity. According to the custom prevalent in ancient India, the Brahmins used to read grammar as soon as the sacrament of holy thread was over, and it was only when they became considerably conversant with grammar that they took to the study of the Vedas.[4] The necessity of making a thorough study of grammar was even felt by the gods. Tradition runs to the effect that Indra took up the study of grammar under the tutorship of Bṛhaspati.

We should not, however, forget the main issue. While paving the path for one's admission into other departments of study, the study of grammar used to serve a still more beneficial purpose. Grammar in its religious and mystical speculations is in line with the teachings of the Upaniṣads, reinterpreting the same doctrines of *yoga* and *upāsanā* as are generally found in the sacred texts of India.[5] Investigation into the real nature and power of sound has been a study that belongs more to the department of metaphysics than grammar.

1. तद्द्वारमपवर्गस्य—Vākyapadīya, 1. 14.
2. पवित्रं सर्वविद्यानामधिविद्यं प्रकाशते ।—*Op. cit.*, 1.14.
3. यदेकं प्रक्रियाभेदैर्बहुधा प्रविभज्यते ।
तद्व्याकरणमागम्य परं ब्रह्माधिगम्यते ॥—*Op. cit.*, 1. 22.
4. Mahābhāṣya. 1.1.1.
5. 'तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः' and 'तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम्'—Yoga-sūtras, 1. 27-28.

In reviewing the history and development of grammatical speculations, the question that often demands elucidation is the question of the spiritual significance of the study of grammar. The question is this: how the study of grammar can be of any direct help to the spiritual uplift of man? They labour under a pitiable delusion who are so trained as to suppose that grammar has nothing to do with the highest problems of our life. It was left to Patañjali and his followers to unlock the portal of a new kingdom of thought, so as to throw light upon the ultimate end of all enquiries into words. The Mahābhāṣya portended the birth of a form of *sādhanā* in which *śabda* or *Eternal Verbum* should be worshipped with all the reverence shown to a Divinity.[1] In order to attain union with Brahman or to get oneself completely merged in the Absolute, one is directed to take up the mysterious course of *śabda-sādhanā*.[2]

Patañjali seems to have been the first among the Indian grammarians to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar. The *Śabdabrahmopāsanā*, as is formulated in the Upaniṣads, had undoubtedly influenced his trend of thought. Then came Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadīya, who brought his robust genius and spiritual discipline to bear upon the problems of grammar. A purely Vedāntic outlook permeates all his interpretations. We find in the Vākyapadīya the emergence of a developed form of *sādhanā* where the dominant note is more spiritual than grammatical. The last of the trinity is Nāgeśa who, following in the wake of Patañjali and Bhartṛhari, made an elaborate attempt to elucidate the spiritual aspect of grammatical dissertations.

[1] Patañjali says that one should pursue the study of grammar for the supreme object of attaining equality or sameness with the Great God:—

'महता देवेन नः साम्यं यथा स्यादित्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्।'

[2] While commenting on the Ṛk (Ṛgveda, X. 6. 71), Patañjali has laid stress on the necessity of making a thorough study of grammar, because it renders a grammarian capable of attaining union with Brahman (सायुज्यानि गामति).

The mysticism underlying the phenomena of speech was undoubtedly the aspect which seems to have made the deepest impression upon the grammarian. The utterance of sound is with him a vivid materialisation of inner consciousness. To the grammarian *śabda* is not a lifeless mechanism invented by man. It is more than a mere sound or symbol. It is consciousness that splits itself up into the twofold category of *śabda* and *artha*; and what we call *vāk*, as the vehicle of communication, is nothing but an expression of *caitanya* lying within.[1]

Patañjali has taken notice of two kinds of words, namely, *nitya* (eternal) and *kārya* (created). By the former he understands the Supreme Reality that transcends all limitations of time and space. The attributes whereby the Vedāntin describes Brahman or Absolute have all been used by Patañjali in his interpretation of *nitya śabda*.[2] He has more than once drawn our attention to this eternal character of *śabda*. This will give us some idea of the magnitude in which *śabda* was understood by the famous grammarian whom tradition makes an incarnation of *Śeṣa*. His poetical description of *varṇas*, to which we have already referred, best illustrates the spiritual outlook of his mind. From the *śrutis* he has quoted in laudation of *vāk* and *vyākaraṇa*, it is sufficiently clear that he was an ardent and devout worshipper of *vāk*, belonging to that class of mystics who in their spiritual experience make no distinction between *parā vāk* and *para Brahman*. Patañjali used to look upon *śabda* as a great Divinity (*mahān devaḥ*) that makes its presence felt by every act of utterance. He was a *yogin* whose inward vision (*prātibha jñāna*) permitted him to have a look into that eternal flow of pure consciousness that is undisturbed

प्रत्यक्चैतन्यस्यान्तःसन्निविष्टस्य परबोधनाय शक्तिरभिष्यन्दत इति ।—

Puṇyarāja under Vākyapadīya, I. 1.

नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः—

Mahābhāṣya, 1.1.1.

from outside.[1] He was a true type of Brahmin who visualised the ultimate nature of *vāk* by dispelling the darkness of ignorance through the aid of his illuminating knowledge of *śabda-tattva*.[2] The worship of *vāk*, which has its origin in the Upaniṣads[3] and which found so prominent an expression in the *Āgamas*, was earnestly followed up by the *śābdikas*, particularly by Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. *Śabdabrahmopāsanā*, as we find in grammatical dissertations, is only a reproduction of the teachings of the Upaniṣads.

A flash of divine light is said to dawn upon a man who knows the secret relation between *vācya* and *vācaka*. Patañjali has made mention of a verse that enjoins that he who knows the proper use of words is allowed to obtain eternal bliss in the next world.[4] This is the consummation pictured to himself by a *vāg-yogavid*; and this is all that he longs to attain as the highest reward of his lifelong *sādhanā*. The conception of *vāk* as a powerful deity (*vāk-devī*) and the glorification of the same as *akṣara* or *udgītha*, resulted in the most important consequences for spiritual discipline of life. This is a mode of *upāsanā* from which the grammarians of India drew all their spiritual inspirations.

Words are not mere sounds as they ordinarily seem to be. They have a subtle and intellectual form within. The internal source from which they evolve is calm and serene, eternal and imperishable. The real form of *vāk*, as opposed to external sound, lies far beyond the range of ordinary perception. We are told that it requires a good deal of *sādhanā* to have a glimpse of the purest form of speech. The *ṛk* to which

[1] अन्या परा प्रकृतिः सत्या सर्वविकारानुयायिनी प्रशान्तकल्लोला चिदेकघना ब्रह्मेत्यागमविदः—
Helārāja under Vākyapadīya, 3. 32.

[2] वैयाकरणास्तु शास्त्रबलेन तद्बलब्धयोगेन च गुहान्धकारं विदार्य सर्वं जानातीति भावः—
Pradīpoddyota.

[3] स यो वाचं ब्रह्मेत्युपास्ते—Chāndogya, VII. 2.

[4] सोऽनन्तमाप्नोति जयं परत्र—Mahābhāṣya.

Patañjali has referred, bears strong evidence to this fact. *Vāk* is said to reveal her divine self only to those who are so trained as to understand her real nature.[1] Such was the exalted nature of *vāk* upon which the grammarian used to meditate.

Patañjali has also shown the religious consequence that results from the study of grammar. The application of words in conformity with the rules of grammar is considered to be a kind of *dharma*. Though correct and corrupt words are equally significant in ordinary parlance, he strongly believes that the use of correct words is alone attended with religious merit.[2]

Having regard to the facts under review one may be led to believe that grammar belongs to the class of religious texts, and it has actually received the same treatment at the hands of Bhartṛhari and others. It is, however, strange how a matter-of-fact science like grammar could come to be regarded as such. An answer to this riddle is suggested by the author of the Śabdakaustubha.[3] Just as one, he observes, is said to have fortunately received the much-coveted *cintāmaṇi* in his search after *cowries*, so the grammarians, while dealing with the nature of words, preached the doctrine of absolute monism and ultimately found *Brahman* as the essence of *vāk*. Grammarians, as we all know, started with the physical analysis of words and conceived sound as what clothes itself with *varṇas*. They did not, however, rest there but proceeded still further and on minute examination of internal phenomena grasped the remotest form of sound, *i.e.*, *sphoṭa*, which is manifested by sound—eternal, indivisible and really expressive of sense.

1 उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥—Ṛgveda, X. 6. 71.

2 समानायामर्थगतौ शब्देन चापशब्देन धर्मनियमः क्रियते शब्देनैवार्थोऽभिधेयो नापशब्देनेत्येवं क्रियमाणमभ्युदयकारि भवतीति—Mahābhāṣya, 1. 1. 1.

3 वराटिकान्वेषणाय प्रवृत्तश्चिन्तामणिं लब्धवानिति वासिष्ठरामायणोक्ताभाणकन्यायेन शब्दविचाराय प्रवृत्तः सन् प्रसङ्गादद्वैते औपनिषदे ब्रह्मण्यपि व्युत्पद्यतामित्यभिप्रायेण भगवान् भर्तृहरिर्विवर्तवादादिकमपि प्रसङ्गाद् व्युदपादयत् ।

The doctrine of *sphoṭa*, as was expounded and nourished by the grammarian, marks the climax of mysticism reached by grammar. The assumption of a spiritual phenomenon as *sphoṭa*, to which all sounds are reducible and from which all meanings follow, furnishes a clue to the origin of sound. To the grammarian *sphoṭa* is indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*) and represents *caitanya* in its purest form. Its sacred and lofty nature was so much exaggerated by the grammarian that it was finally identified with Brahman.[1] The conclusion at which the grammarians had arrived after all their speculations on *śabda-tattva* is this supreme identity.

Bhartṛhari, as a staunch advocate of *sphoṭavāda*, started with the proposition that *śabda-tattva* and *Brahma-tattva* are interchangeable.[2] Though their procedure is secular and artificial to all appearance, grammarians, says Bhartṛhari, had an eye to the reality of things. He has more than once sought to impress upon us how *avidyā*, or negation of truth, has been studiously resorted to by all departments of study in their respective manners of presenting facts.[3] But grammarians succeeded by the grace of *sādhanā* in grasping the supreme *truth*, though they had to walk along the same bewildering track of illusion.[4] This was the triumph of their spiritual experience. The crowning success of Bhartṛhari lies in his able exposition of the doctrine of *Śabda-Brahman* which looms so large in his unique work, the Vākyapadīya. He inaugurated, as it were, a new course of

1 सत्यं निष्कृष्यमाणं यच्छब्दतत्त्वं निरञ्जनम् ।
ब्रह्मैवेत्यक्षरं प्राहुस्तस्मै पूर्णात्मने नमः ॥—Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa, 74.
and "निष्कर्षे तु ब्रह्मैव स्फोटः" ।

2 अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्त्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥—Vākyapadīya, 1. 1,

3 शास्त्रेषु प्रक्रियाभेदैरविद्यैवोपवर्ण्यते ।
समारम्भस्तु भावानामनादि ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥—*Op. cit.*

4 असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ।—*Op. cit.*, 2. 240.

sādhanā by making *śabda-tattva* the final cause of the world. *Śabda-tattva* is exactly the same to the grammarian as is Brahman to the Vedāntin.

No grammarian seems to have gone farther than Bhartṛhari in harmonising grammatical speculations with the sublime teachings of *advaita* philosophy. This was quite in tune with the spiritual attitude of Indian mind. All words and meanings, holds Bhartṛhari, are but the apparently different aspects of one and the same thing.[1] He was thus conscious of that *mahāsattā* or Highest Universal which permeates the whole universe: He makes his Vedāntic position perfectly clear when he says : *sattā* represents the real essence of all things ; it seems to be manifold in consequence of the diversity of objects ; it is to be regarded as the *summum genus* which is denoted by all words, all *prātipadikas* (crude forms), verbal roots and suffixes like *tva* and *tal*.[2] We need not say that *sattā*, as spoken of above, is the Eternal Supreme Soul of the Vedāntin and the *parā vāk* of the grammarian.

Grammar has thus maintained monism strictly in agreement with the Vedānta and has insisted upon the meditation on *śabda-tattva* as a genuine form of spiritual culture. Bhartṛhari has not only supported the Vedāntic doctrine of *vivarta* by recording his belief in the evolution of the world from *śabda*, but has invested *śabdatattva* with all that is divine and mysterious. *Śabda*, he holds, is all-powerful.[3] The power of producing the world[4] lies in

[1] एकस्यैवात्मनो भेदौ शब्दार्थावपृथक्स्थितौ ।—Vākyapadīya, 2. 31.

[2] सम्बन्धिभेदात् सत्तैव भिद्यमाना गवादिषु ।
जातिरित्युच्यते तस्यां सर्वे शब्दा व्यवस्थिता: ॥
तां प्रातिपदिकार्थं च धात्वर्थं च प्रचक्षते ।
सा नित्या सा महानात्मा तामाहुस्त्वतलादय: ॥—*Op. cit.*, 3.33-34.

[3] शब्देष्वेवाश्रिता शक्तिर्विश्वस्यास्य निबन्धनी ।—*Op. cit.*, 1. 119.

[4] This will remind one of the world-producing Logos of the Christian theology.

śabda which is said to reveal itself in the dual form of *vācya* and *vācaka*. He has cited the authority of the Vedas to show that the world issued forth from the Vedic words.[1] A *śabda* which is so potential must be far from the word used in ordinary parlance ; it is the primordial sound, called either *praṇava* or *udgītha* in the Upaniṣads, wherein lies the origin of all things.[2] The grammarian advocated the worship of this sublime *śabda*—a flash of divine light and a positive emblem of Pure Consciousness.

It seems clear from what we have said that the grammarian in his remotest circumspection reached a stage where *śabda* appeared to be the positive expression of *cit-śakti*. A sacred and mystic symbol of pure consciousness, *śabda* was conjured up with all reverence and devotion. The *śābdikas* did not, therefore, feel the necessity of worshipping any other divinity than *śabda* which is to them godly in the highest sense of the term. To concentrate the mind and to meditate constantly upon the sacred aspect of *vāk* is all that is necessary to realise the secret of *śabda-sādhanā* and to come thereby in close touch with the Supreme Reality lying behind the world-phenomena. *Vāk-śakti* is divine, and every act of utterance is a vivid manifestation of consciousness that rises from within. It is also stated that a man having this power in an eminent degree is supposed to be in possession of the greater amount of 'divine light.'[3] Mastery over *śabda* as well as the power of expression is no mean achievement for a man. Each and every *śabda* is said to be a revelation of Pure Light—hallowed and refulgent.

We conclude by pointing out the goal for the attainment of which *śabda-sādhanā* was so devoutly followed by the

[1] शब्दस्य परिणामोऽयमित्याम्नायविदो विदुः । छन्दोभ्य एव प्रथममेतद्विश्वं व्यवर्त्तत ।—
Vākyapadīya, 1. 121.

[2] "स (प्रणवः) हि सर्वशब्दार्थप्रकृतिः"—Puṇyarāja under Vākyapadīya, 1. 10.

[3] शाब्दी वाग् भूयसी येषु पुरुषेषु व्यवस्थिता ।
अधिकं वर्त्तते तेषु पुण्यं रूपं प्रजापतेः ॥—
Quoted by Puṇyarāja under Vākyapadīya, 1. 121.

grammarian. In ancient literature mention is made of two forms of Brahman, namely, Śabda-Brahman and Para-Brahman. These two aspects are correlated with each other as means and end. Having grasped the former by means of sober meditation and pure intuition the grammarian was at last allowed to reach the latter, the end of all.[1]

द्वे ब्रह्मणी हि मन्तव्ये शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् ।
शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥—Tripurātāpinyupaniṣad, 5. 17.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KEATS AND THE PRE-RAPHAELITE POETS

By

NRIPENDRANATH CHATTERJEE.

Preliminary Statement of the Problem.

There has been for a long time an over-emphasis on one quality of Keats's poetry—thinks Fausset.[1] That quality is his quality of sensuousness, and, Fausset says, "an incomplete understanding both of Keats's own character and of true aesthetic values led the enthusiastic to admire and exalt above all else those of his poems which Keats himself discredited even to the point of unfairness, while it enabled the puritanical to condemn or criticise his nature on false premises. It was in this way that the Pre-Raphaelites indulged their own romanticism by sentimentalizing a delicate fragment, *The Eve of St. Mark*, and disregarding a gigantic torso, *The Fall of Hyperion*."

This is a grave charge and we are to consider it. Did the Pre-Raphaelites really misunderstand Keats? In other words, how far did they understand him?

I. INTRODUCTORY.

The early interest of the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters in Keats—evidences.

The Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters made a sort of discovery of Keats very early in their respective career, some even

[1] Fausset, Keats, p. 9.

before the ingenious, cryptic signature P. R. B. mystified the lovers of art for the first time. Holman Hunt, the oldest and staunchest of all the artists, was enthusiastic in his admiration of Keats's poetry, and he, together with Millais, the young prodigy, illustrated some of Keats's poems—especially those of a mediæval character, passionate in theme and richly coloured in design, as *Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes*, etc., Hunt's *Escape of Madeline and Prospero* and *Isabella and the Pot of Basil*, and Millais's *St. Agnes' Eve* and *Lorenzo and Isabella* have been much praised. The enthusiasm of Rossetti for the lonely artist Keats was perhaps the greatest. The superlative praise which he bestowed on many of Keats's poems is not entirely free from the suspicion of 'sentimentalizing.' He attempted a drawing of Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, and illustrated several other poems. "It was a theory of his," Mackail observes, "expounded with copiousness and vehement conviction, that English poetry was fast reaching the termination of its long and splendid career, and that Keats represented its final achievement."[1] Keats found a discerning critic in William Rossetti, the official expositor of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. Morris held Keats to be the first of modern English poets.[2] In his reply to a letter of Charles Cowden Clarke, the friend and teacher of Keats, Morris wrote—"Keats, for whom I have such boundless admiration and whom I venture to call one of my masters."[3] Swinburne's essay on Keats combines rare critical insight with enthusiastic appreciation.[4] Burne-Jones was "saturated with Shakespeare and Keats" before he came to Oxford (1853) and met Morris there.[5] Instances like these are too numerous to mention. Of all the romantic poets it was Keats whom they made a special object of their veneration and praise. In a

1 Mackail, Life of William Morris, Vol. I, p. 113.
2 *Ibid*, p, 226.
3 *Ibid*, p. 206.
4 Swinburne, A Critical Miscellany.
5 Mackail, Morris, Vol. I, p. 40.

"List of Immortals" drawn up by Rossetti and his friends, Keats was classed with Homer, Dante and Goethe,[1] though we may not attach any particular importance to this list which was merely a fancy-work showing amazing inconsistency. Moreover, it was the sight, at the house of Millais, of some engravings of the frescoes by Gozzoli, Orcagna and others in the Campo Santo at Pisa that gave definite shape to the insurgent ideas then fostered by Holman Hunt, Rossetti and Millais ; and these very frescoes, we know, had impressed Keats and Leigh Hunt very much.[2] Keats expresses in a letter addressed to George and Georgiana Keats (Decr., 1818) his admiration for these early Italian painters.[3] Rossetti and Hunt were reading the *Life and Letters of Keats* by Lord Houghton. On the 20th of August, 1848, Rossetti wrote :" He (*i.e.*, Keats) seems to have been a glorious fellow—and says in one place (to my great delight) that having just looked over a folio of the first and second schools of Italian painting, he has come to the conclusion that some of the early men surpassed even Raphael himself."[4] Keats's opinion must have furnished Rossetti and Hunt with a very valuable hint.[5] What interests us most is that at a time when the poetry of Keats was only beginning to be appreciated, these young artists who had not yet come together, unguided by any authoritative critical opinion, should make an independent discovery of the wealth of beauty hidden in Keats's poetry and grow enthusiastic in its praise. It is true there were some contemporaries of Keats surviving into the Victorian era, who acted as intermediaries. Three intimate friends and associates of Keats—Charles Cowden Clarke, Haydon, the painter who introduced him to the Elgin Marbles, and Leigh Hunt the poet, critic, and politician, who was his

[1] Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

[2] Henry Beers, Romanticism in the 19th Century, p. 284.

[3] Forman, Vol. IV, p. 111; Vol. I, p. 202.

[4] Knight, Rossetti, p. 25.

[5] *Ibid.*

early guide and ideal—acted as so many links between Keats and the young Pre-Raphaelites. Charles Cowden Clarke, writing to Morris, after the publication of his *Earthly Paradise,* said, "I am sure that you would not have had a more trusted admirer and Brother in the faith of Love and Beauty than in my beloved friend and school-fellow—John Keats, whom I all but taught his letters."[1] Haydon was much admired by the Pre-Raphaelites, especially by Woolner the sculptor.[2] It is curious that Rossetti's early "unsophisticated hero-worship" would lead him to admire Leigh Hunt with an ardour that recalls similar sentiments of young Keats.

It was Leigh Hunt's appreciation that gave Rossetti self-confidence in the beginning of his poetic career.[3] But more important than anyone of these was Tennyson's position as an intermediary, because the subtle influence which a poet exerts on his successors of like temper can hardly come through ordinary men or events, but demands a very sensitive poetic medium. That medium was Tennyson in this case. We have only put forward certain facts ; on the basis of these facts we can very well start our investigation, as they are, we hope, significant enough to ensure a fruitful study. It is but quite natural to hope that when a set of talented artists begin to take an unusual interest in some predecessor, they do so being led by an implicit recognition of some spiritual and artistic kinship between them and that predecessor. The Pre-Raphaelites, we may be sure from these instances, did not approach Keats in a patronising spirit or try to do a fanciful justice to the memory of an "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," that typical cult of the underdog we are so familiar with in modern literature and criticism. They approached him, just as they approached the early Italian masters, for guidance, instruction and inspiration. And what they wanted they got. This should be our endeavour to establish by a comparative study of their works and those of Keats.

[1] Mackail, Morris, Vol. I, p. 206.

[2] Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Vol. I, p. 83.

[3] Megroz, Rossetti, p. 45.

Scope of study.

This naturally leads us to the scope of our study. We shall make a comparative study of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. For the sake of clarity, we shall consider the works of only the four principal Pre-Raphaelite poets, D. G. Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne. Again, we do not desire to make a thorough study of all the works of these poets but only of those works which are distinctly Pre-Raphaelite in intention and execution—" Pre-Raphaelite " in a special sense which we shall explain in due course. Swinburne and Morris wrote many things in their maturer manner which do not fall within the Pre-Raphaelite phase of their respective career nor bear any distinctive Pre-Raphaelite stamp. Indeed, no one artist, not even Rossetti, all along kept to the original Pre-Raphaelite pact of simplicity, sincerity, nature, truth and beauty. The position of Christina Rossetti is somewhat peculiar. " Miss Rossetti," as Prof. Elton says,[1] " though never a member, kept closest of all to the original programme by virtue of her natural gift and instinct." So we cannot ignore her contribution to the Pre-Raphaelite programme. Again, for the sake of clarity, we shall have to distinguish between the Pre-Raphaelite school of painting and the Pre-Raphaelite school of poetry, though it is not our purpose to ignore the Pre-Raphaelite paintings altogether, as the Pre-Raphaelite movement started with certain theories of painting specially, and all along maintained the vital inter-relationship among the different arts,—painting, poetry, sculpture and the decorative arts. " So now the whole Round Table is dissolved," quoted Rossetti in 1883 at Millais's studio. But it was spoken of the original Pre-Raphaelite school of painting which included Rossetti, Millais and Hunt. The Pre-Raphaelite tradition subsisted in literature for a long time, and in painting it assumed a new form.

[1] A Survey of English Literature (1830-1880), Vol. II, p. 8.

Its twofold object; Keats's influence: its nature; the historical standpoint.

The object of our study is twofold. It is, first of all, to establish that the Pre-Raphaelite poets were anticipated and influenced in many respects by Keats; and secondly, what is the main purpose of our thesis, this anticipation of the Pre-Raphaelite temper and methods was nohow a chance coincidence, but was due to the fact that the romantic temper of Keats had an essential affinity with that of the Pre-Raphaelite poets; that they, from the historical point of view, worked out with elaborate success one essential aspect of the English Romantic Movement. It was due to this spiritual and artistic affinity, that the Pre-Raphaelites felt such a profound attraction for Keats. Again, this type of romanticism, we shall also try to establish, has a peculiar pathology and a curious psychological interest. We recognise that there are marked differences between the matter and manner of different Pre-Raphaelite poets, but traces of almost all the tendencies xehibited by these poets, especially in the Pre-Raphaelite phase of their respective career, may be noticed in the poetry of Keats.

We have stated the scope and object of our study. Now, what is this 'romantic temper' we are laying particular stress upon? What was the basis of this spiritual and artistic affinity? The simple answer is, that Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets were supreme 'Poets of escape.' This is the starting point of our investigation. They were 'Escapists' and 'Escapism' was their creed.

Escapism, its roots and psychology.

And what is this creed of 'Escapism?' What are its roots and psychology? 'Escapism,' in itself, is a very expressive term. At its root there is not a positive and determined challenging of the actual, but rather a detachment from it. In some forms of

mysticism the world of reality is totally ignored or rejected as worthless. "Escapism" does not ignore or reject, it being an outcome of an atmosphere of dreams and doubts, not of an earnest grappling with reality, nor of any conviction born of an inner realisation as in mysticism. When the world of reality and its trenchant affirmations no longer satisfy the soul, there is naturally a tendency to escape into an ideal region, maybe a lake Isle of Innisfree where the imagination is the only guide, where the aspirations of the heart are transformed into rainbow-fringed shapes of ethereal beauty in the enchanted garden of the land of Heart's Desire. This region cannot be located ; it is, in the words of Christina Rossetti,—

> "Somewhere or other, may be near or far;
> Past land and sea, clean out of sight;
> Beyond the wandering moon, beyond the star"
>
> —*Somewhere or Other.*

or in the words of Swinburne—

> "The greenland's name that a charm encloses
> It never was writ in the traveller's chart,
> And sweet on its trees as the fruit that grows is,
> It never was sold in the merchant's mart.
> The swallows of dreams through its dim fields dart
> And sleep's are the tunes in its tree-tops heard;
> No hound's note wakens the wild wood hart
> Only the song of a secret bird."
>
> —*A Ballad of Dreamland.*

And the poet takes to his dreamland with the words—

> "In the world of dreams I have chosen my part,
> To sleep for a season and hear no word
> Of true love's truth or of light love's art,
> Only the song of a secret bird."

We all know the song of this secret bird—the bird who sings in the depths of our heart for a bluer sky and a greener forest. There is not however one dream-world, but, as Keats once wrote,

"I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my Spirit the office which is equivalent to a King's bodyguard—then "Tragedy with sceptred pall comes sweeping by." According to my state of mind I am with Achilles shouting in the Trenches, or with Theocritus in the Vales of Sicily. Or I throw my whole being into Troilus, and repeating those lines, "I wander like a lost Soul upon the stygian Banks staying for waftage," I melt into the air with voluptuousness so delicate that I am content to be alone."[1] This is 'Escapism' *par excellence*. Keats also writes of charming the 'dragon-world of all its hundred eyes,' and his spirit flies away 'seeing it asleep.'[2] Again, it is not always a self-created dream-world that the 'Escapist' takes resort to. In the domain of literature there are certain well-recognised regions, like the Mediaeval world, the Hellenic world, the Orient, etc., which human sentiment has all along cherished with care. These regions the 'Escapist' easily discovers as offering a fit resort. No doubt the subtly varied demands of different artistic personalities introduce characteristic modification into the body of traditional materials in each case.

It is a prevalent tendency in all romantic activity.

This 'Escapism' is a prevalent tendency in all romantic literature. Romanticism, in its recoil from the deadening pre-occupations of actual life, has always provided sensitive spirits with ways of escape into the world of dreams. This view, however, is not all-comprehensive, nor does it belittle the achievements of the romantic genius. Looking deep into the heart of the romantic spirit one does not discover there with the cynical

[1] Letter to George and Georgiana Keats, Oct.. 1818.

[2] A Dream (a sonnet).

self-assurance of the critics of the type of Irving Babbitt,[1] mere perversions of normal desires, mere 'nostalgia' or 'nympholepsy.'

Times arrive in the spiritual history of a people when the long-accepted syntheses of the past generations prove too finite and rigid, when the classical certainties prove mere patched-up compromises and lifeless conventions. Then the consciousness, that the spiritual aspirations of the human heart are being starved, grows very acute with men of keen sensibility, and the heart and the imagination burst the coils of conventions and reach out for the perfection beyond.

Magnificent is the literary expression of this spiritual turmoil. In literature, romanticism ushers in an era of lofty hopes and promises and the prospect of the kingdom of the earth; it rehabilitates emotion in the scale of values, proves the worthlessness of the age-old inhibitions by the all-convincing appeal to the sentiments, and gloriously dismisses all the tyrannical intellectual formulas devised by centuries. It is a great moment, there is an all-round desire to shape the world anew, to bring down heaven on earth, to reform, to embody in forms of living beauty what is only dimly apprehended by the intellect.

But we must always recognise the theoretical character of all romantic endeavours in literature. That which wishes to fly off at a tangent from a narrower orbit may be a curve of one vaster and still more central—says Prof. Herford.[2] But this widening of the circle is accomplished mainly in the region of the spirit, 'the recovery of the imaginative power' may not mean 'a recovery of vision for the visible world,' or if it means something of the sort, it means so indirectly, not as the first and foremost significance of romantic activity. It would not do to cut off art, however 'romantic' in intention, from life,

[1] Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism.

[2] Romanticism in the Modern World, Essays and Studies by Members of the Engl Assc., Vol. VIII, p. 125.

2

after all that modern psychological investigations have established.[1] But the inspiring romantic promises are above all inspiring promises. It is futile to hope that they will realise themselves in actuality, that one day the moth will reach the star. Is not the inspiring quality, the ethereal beauty of the aspiration, enough in itself? Why need it be, and how can it be, translated into solid practice? There is an unfortunate shortcoming in the comprehension of many people, who cannot approach beauty in any form unless it possesses the hard outline and certainty of facts.

Romanticism and Classicism: Can a romantic work of Art be held as a 'classic' in the making.

A view of the case which would have us believe that every romantic work of art is a 'classic in the making' advances a striking paradox which is not very easy to understand. If it means anything, it only means that with the progress, development and refinement of human sensibility, the time will come when the fine yearnings and aspirations of the romantic works of art will lose their quality of strangeness and become familiar elements of everyday thought, the very stuff of classical universalities. But has Penelope's complaint to the Nightingale lost its quality of romantic strangeness? The opinions change from age to age, from country to country, but one can hardly conceive of a time when the aspirations of Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale* or the dream visions in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* would be converted into the stuff of everyday thought and fancy, and lose their unique, isolated beauty and ethereal suggestiveness. It is far better to recognise that every romantic aspiration is as a tongue of fire standing up against a background of darkness and mystery, a wonder and an attraction, universal in its universal appeal and significance, but never to be translated into the broad, well-known verities of life on any day, however

[1] I. A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism.

sensitive and complex may human psychology grow with the passage of time. The law of relativity does, of course, apply here to some extent. Thomson's *Seasons* is not, in our age, any longer romantic, though in his age it had a quality of strangeness; it now possesses only a historical value. But that is an instance of pseudo-romanticism. Genuine romanticism never loses its 'strangeness' added to beauty, its uniqueness, its novelty, for the simple reason that the moth cannot reach the star. There is always this fundamental futility—if we indeed be eager to evaluate a romantic work of art with the standards of reality and utility—at the root of all romantic creations. It is true that an authentic synthesising purpose is felt like a beating pulse in all higher forms of romanticism But romantic art in so far as it synthesises with conscious critical effort, in so far as it saddles its spontaneous creativity with a constructive ideal, shows a distinctly classical bent. To repeat the Hegelian formula, romanticism is the predominance of 'spirit' over 'form,' the free play of 'fancies' that break through the language and escape of 'thoughts hardly to be packed into a narrow act.' In the sheer abundance of his creative impulse the romantic artist does not try to digest his materials, to synthesise, to impose 'formal' restrictions—in the highest sense of the word 'formal.'[1] It is the generation following that makes the discovery of the hard matter of realised truths when the stir and commotion of the creative moment has subsided, and when the flighty purpose and unique charm of the romantic work of art has been carefully and consciously eliminated.. This process of analytical elimination kills the life-breath of all romantic art and makes us think that a romantic work of art is a 'classic in the making.' In the rushing forward of a former generation, the latter generation fixes a landmark! But the disturbing uniqueness, the intense subjectivity, the essence of romanticism is left out in the process.

[1] Croce's Aesthetics.

We have stated in brief what we consider to be the essential part of the problem though it is obvious that every definition of romanticism will not fit into our description. Let us now turn from this general discussion to the particulars. Let us examine very briefly the English Romantic Movement (1780-1830) and its off-shoots from this point of view.

Revivalism in English Romantic Movement ; its two distinct lines represented by Keats and Scott.

This Movement has often been described as a sort of revival. Though revivalism was nohow its greatest distinguishing mark, it was essentially symptomatic of its character, and in this it was related to the mediæval revival in Germany. Why there should be a harking back to the past is easily explained. Weary of the dead-weight of lifeless conventions, the heart naturally desires to seek out a region where beauty is abundant, life flows on untrammelled, where the desires of the heart have their golden fulfilment. In the mediæval life people found or discovered this beauty, this unquestioning enjoyment. Again, the awakening consciousness of a national past, played a great part in this revival. There were indeed two distinct lines of revivalism—one idealistic, revolutionary, creative, subjective, offering an escape from the tyranny of the actual, the sort of revivalism we associate with Coleridge and Keats, and the other conservative, historical, carefully reviving and reconstructing a past with a researchful but lively imagination which delights in the relics of the national past, the kind of revivalism we associate with Scott. Now the type of imaginative activity associated with the first kind of revivalism we must lay stress on, as herein Keats anticipates the Pre-Raphaelite poets, and this imaginative activity is 'escapistic.'

The first kind of Revivalism is 'escapistic.'

Let us make our field of vision broader and single out this type of romantic activity from among other types.

The three periods of the Romantic Movement.

It is customary to distinguish three periods corresponding to the creative activities of three groups of poets in the English Romantic Movement. This is a very important distinction for our purposes. Following mainly the classification of Prof. Herford [1] we may say tha tthe first group of poets, the early romanticists, Wordsworth and Coleridge, lived mainly at Stowey and Grasmere, wrote poetry of Nature and of Man in relation to Nature, "a poetry mystical, metaphysical, indifferent to history, without the accent of locality, broad and abstract in its treatment of character, excelling in lofty and profound reflection." This is the "Return to Nature" phase of the English Romantic Movement; poets had lofty ideals for reconstructing the 'jointless' world, Coleridge with his Pantisocracy, Wordsworth with his Rousseauistic dreams. But the world was not reconstructed, the poets remained insular and patriotic and wove subtle metaphysical designs on a 'naturalistic' view of life. In Coleridge only the essential spirit of romance found fitful expressions. The second phase began with the activity of Scott and his followers and associates, with the poetry of the Tweedside and Ettrick, a poetry with no speculative pre-occupations whatsoever, "steeped in the atmosphere of tradition, careless of Man and Nature in the abstract, but reflecting with extraordinary vivacity the rich diversity of individual man and places." This poetry was conservative in temper and vigorously reconstructive. The third phase began in Italy and Venice, with the activity of Shelley and Byron and in England with that of Keats, a phase in which the call of the South predominated. In this phase "the poetry of Nature was renewed in a form more cosmopolitan and sensitive to the ideas, rebellious of tradition and indifferent to history, yet drinking deep from the springs of Greek myth and poetry, which the

[1] Herford, Age of Wordsworth, pp. 146-47.

mountain poets had casually tasted, and the border poets for the most part ignored." The all-ignoring subjectivity of the young romanticists brought into their poetry a note of earnest sincerity, a datelessness, an ardour of aspiration matching the desire of the moth for the star. There was also a mediaeval tone of thought noticeable in Keats and others, and the essential spirit of romance spoke with a powerful voice.

Let us now examine the position of Keats, the youngest singer in the line.

Keats and modern historical criticism.

Modern historical criticism is apt to deduce the disquieting factor of personality from the well-known environment, the traditions and the time-spirit of a particular age. But this logical and highly beneficial process stops far short of the real issue in the case of Keats as also in the case of the Pre-Raphaelite poets. The age in which Keats lived has not left much impression on his work. There is hardly any reference in his poetry to the mighty issues that were being settled in that period of stress and strain, when the Industrial Revolution was in its full swing and the Malthusian and Benthamite doctrines and heresies were being scattered broadcast. Keats's was the genuine artistic nature which works out its own ideal in the seclusion of its own dream world. This is highly interesting. This is not entirely true of any other poet of the era. He was a man of his time in so far as he was influenced by Leigh Hunt in one way and Wordsworth in another. "Thirty years earlier or later," as Prof. Elton says,[1] "he would not have come in the first flash of the discovery of the old English poets—especially those of our Renaissance to whose spirit and vocabulary he owes so much." "He is also of the time," the same critic remarks,[2] "in his growing unrest, and in his reaching out after

Keats as a man of his time—his obligations to his age.

[1] Elton, A Survey of English Literature, Vol. II, p. 223.
[2] " " (1780-1830) " p. 224.

the infinite, and in that mixture of pain with his enjoyment..., and in his needless noble touches of fear and scruple lest he should become inhumanly wrapped up in his art.. He could hardly have lived at any other epoch and written as he did." That is true. But that does not touch the crux of the problem. No man can steal away from his age altogether. Again, if Keats escaped from the realities of his age, the art of escape was not totally original. Coleridge and Wordsworth too were, in their own way, 'Poets of escape' as Ullman suggests.[1] The world was too much with them too, they too created their own worlds. Wordsworth with his skylarks and celandines and rustic folks created a world which was not strictly the early nineteenth century England, and Coleridge with his frequent opium dreams was no zealous realist. But there is great difference between Wordsworth and Coleridge on one hand and Keats on the other. While Wordsworth and Coleridge more or less challenged, were vanquished by, and retired from reality, many think they reached a higher 'reality.' Keats disliked reality and sought to escape from its coils.

Wordsworth and Coleridge as 'Poets of escape,' contrasted with Keats.

A modern school of criticism : Keats's so-called humanistic creed.

Not that Keats did not at all join in the cry of reform. The Romantic poets were very insistent in forwarding their claim as reformers, as law-givers, and Keats shared their enthusiasm to some extent. But Keats's claims were somewhat half-hearted. Again, that strain of humanitarianism in his poetry, very faint at first but unmistakably clear later on, brought him near to the real issues of life—in Hyperion, especially in the Revised Version. But he was mainly an "escapist." In this we are challenged by a school of modern criticism. It is not our purpose, however, to attempt

[1] Ullman, Mad Shelley.

to meet all the arguments advanced by critics like Hancock, Mary . Studdard, Lynch, Clutton-Brock, Bardley, Fausset, Middleton Murry. Neither is it our desire to pit against them critics like William Rossetti, Robert Bridges, Prof. Saintsbury, Prof. Selincourt, Prof. Garrod, Mr. Thorpe, who favour our views to a great extent. "Keats was a philosopher first and a poet afterwards," says Arthur Lynch. "Keats was a philosophic poet, and for that reason he fell into no philosophic errors in his conception of poetry," says Mr. Clutton-Brock. Bernard Shaw announces that in Keats there was a germ of Bolshevism and that had he lived he might have become a propagandist and a prophet.[1] Indeed, Keats, the philosophic poet, as Mr. Thorpe suggests,[2] is being discovered. But we may satisfy ourselves with the simple statement that this school of modern criticism owes its strong, almost convincing, sentimental appeal to the unfailing attraction of the might-have-been. Critics have made Herculean efforts, ever since Matthew Arnold dropped his pregnant apothegm,[3] to discover the 'Shakespearean' qualities in Keats's art. We do not quite agree with Mr. Fausset that "the poetry, uncomplicated by notes or circumstantial exegesis, remains as the only ultimate evidence."[4] "A study of the poems in chronological order will indicate," Mr. Thorpe rightly observes,[5] "Keats's advance in poetic capacity, in power of adequate expression, in self-restraint, but not in ideas of art." We must include the letters also. A critical study of the letters of Keats and a sympathetic study of his poems in chronological order leave us with the conviction that Keats was sure to develop, and was faintly, though noticeably, developing, along a line which must have been the line along which Shakespeare proceeded in his quest for the truth and significance of human life.

1 John Keats Memorial Volume.

2 Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats, p. 1.

3 " 'I think,' Keats said, 'I shall be among the English poets after my death.' He is, he is with Shakespeare." Matthew Arnold, Essay on Keats.

4 Fausset, Keats.

5 Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats, p. 23.

But this admission does not undermine our position. This purposiveness was in Keats, but in his early poems, nay, in almost all of his poems we may notice the "escapist" tendency. From his actual executions the impression we get is not that of one single line of progress, but of a duality of a conflict between two opposite tendencies, though his letters bear abundant evidence to his preference for humanistic aspirations. It is also true that when he surrendered himself to his "escapistic" longings he created exquisite things of beauty but when he challenged them with a half-understood humanistic ideal he stopped far short of 'perfection-realisation.' Humanism existed in him more or less as an intellectual aspiration, not as a product of realisation, of actual experience. Hence when he directly challenges his escapistic longings for beauty by their so-called 'un-reality' the challenge lacks the convincing warmth of experience and introduces an unpleasent superfluous note of discord. But some works, free as they are from this discord, intellectual discord, show remarkable promises in the art of expression. Our purpose in this study is not to emphasize the promises of Keats's works but to denote the temper and colour of particular achievements in so far as they have some bearing upon the matter of our thesis, though we hope to clear up this problem in the subsequent portions of our study.

Humanism mainly as an intellectual aspiration.

Keats's connection with the Pre-Raphaelite poets.

So much then about Keats the 'escapist' and his Age. How do we connect him with the Pre-Raphaelite poets ? Does the statement that they are all "escapists" suffice ? What romantic temper, what special type of imaginative activity, was their distinguishing mark ? In which respect is the Neo-Romantic Movement an offshoot of the Romantic Movement ?

It would not do—following Prof. Saintsbury—simply to suggest that the Pre-Raphaelite Movement was simply a

development of the third phase of the Romantic Movement; nor would it do to state with M. Cazamian[2] that "The aestheticism of Keats was a first sketch of what one generation later became pre-Raphaelitism," nor would it suffice to characterise their cult of art as "a detached self-sufficing sensuality." We must enlarge the scope of our discussion and try to come to a clearer position.

The 'pure Romance' theory.

There is indeed some difference between 'Romanticism' and 'Romance' and there is a 'pure Romance' theory—the 'Rénaissance of Wonder' theory—which is gradually coming to the forefront.[3] This theory brings us nearer to the exact meaning, the primary underlying significance of the word 'Romance.' 'Pure Romance' has been defined as "the resurrection of the senses and their self-expression working under the law of beauty." In this sense Keats was 'purely' romantic, Coleridge in his best poems to a great extent 'purely' romantic, while Wordsworth or Byron or Shelley was not. They were 'naturalistic,' 'revolutionary' or 'idealistic.' Keats the poet of the 'verdurous gloom and winding mossy ways' and Coleridge the poet of the 'sunny spots of greenery' and 'deep romantic chasm and waning moon' were creators of 'pure Romance.' But it would be a mistake to suppose that they were the first in the field.

Illustrated in Collins, Chatterton, Blake, Coleridge, Keats, Hood, Reynolds, Tennyson, the Pre-Raphaelite poets and the Decadents.

The artistic interest in things of beauty for their own sake, the sensuous apprehension of beauty, the frequent indifference to the practical affairs of public life, the life lived in

1 Saintsbury, A Short History of English Literature.
2 Cazamian, A History of English Literature.
3 Theodore Watts-Dunton, Swinburne, Henry Beers, Elton, and others.

an enchanted self-created world and the carelessness of doctrine, these characteristics had appeared in English poetry before the advent of Coleridge and Keats. We find them, first of all in Collins, the creator of a type of nature poetry of sequestered beauty. Then we find these in marked degree in Chatterton, the 'Wonderful boy,' the creator of a type of richly sensuous beautiful poetry, forgeries, of course, but excellent for all that. Next comes Blake who grappled with wonders awake and asleep. Coleridge comes next, Coleridge, the creator of Kubla Khan, of Christabel, of the 'fine sensuousness' of Lewti, not Coleridge 'the muddle-brained metaphysician,' as Morris once called him. Coleridge was followed by Keats. After him came two secondary poets—Hood and Reynolds. Hood, in his fairy and romance poems, like the Two Swans and in his 'lovely after-coinages in Keats's own fashion,' and Reynolds in his impulse towards luxury and felicity of expression and towards a somewhat "far-sought and lingering beauty of phrase" as exhibited in his little-known romantic tales, carried the tradition further. The Elizabethan spirit of curious love of romantic beauty, rich colouring, 'fine excess,' waywardness, lack of discipline and fairy enchantment, the Elizabethan spirit, of which a large part was distinctly mediæval, and not the genuine Renaissance spirit of stern, challenging humanism, breathes in their poems as in the poems of their Master, Keats, the most remarkable successor of Spenser and Marlowe, the author of *Hero and Leander*. Tennyson was deeply influenced by this artistic tradition in his early career both in the form and in the matter of his poems. After him the Pre-Raphaelites came, and in them this 'Renascence of Wonder' Movement reached its culmination.

But the Movement did not stop there. It steadily followed a line of degeneration through the so-called Aesthetic Movement, in the exponents of which the Decadents, as Carlyle called them, the spirit of healthy enjoyment of beauty totally disappeared and was replaced by a curious cult of art, an esoteric cult of suspicious genuineness, and the tendency to 'load every rift of a subject

with ore' which Keats had advocated developed into a permanent habitual inclination for preciosity in expression. The germ of this degeneration we notice very early in Coleridge who has been called 'the first decadent in later English literature' for his 'restless self-dissecting intellect,' his habit of turning his 'search-light inwards on new, unheard of moods,' in a word, for the very morbidity of his temper. Again, the inclination towards a preciosity of expression we may notice in Morris, Swinburne and even in Rossetti. Once this little-stressed line of development and degeneration has been indicated, our position grows firmer, for we can now lay our finger on an organic chain of events. A question naturally arises: Were the later poets themselves aware of this line of development which linked them with the earlier poets? Keats's regard for Chatterton is far too well-known. He also respected Coleridge. Tennyson has frankly acknowledged his obligation to Keats. Rossetti's appreciation of Chatterton, Blake, Coleridge, Keats and Tennyson was profound. Such was the case with Morris, Swinburne and Christina Rossetti. The later poets became instinctively aware, as it were, of their spiritual affinities with the earlier poets. But what is the spiritual basis of this Movement, of this type of romantic activity? We again answer, "Escapism." They were all "Escapists," some thorough "Escapists," some partial—Collins, Chatterton, Blake, Coleridge, Keats, Hood, Reynolds, Tennyson, Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne and Christina Rossetti. The 'resurrection of the senses' goes together with the tendency to escape into a dream world of beauty, where the 'resurrected' senses may have their full play, their full satisfaction of the demand of beauty. In considering the poetry of Wordsworth or Shelley we do not think so much of the fine uses of the senses as of the strength or depth or aspiring quality of the ideas. It was these ideas that kept them, however remotely, in touch with the mighty issues of human life and destiny. But Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets dealt not with ideas but with sense impressions, hence their main objective was to search out those

impressions of beauty which gave the fullest satisfaction to their senses. Naturally did they try to evade the sordid realities of actual life.

The Victorian Age : the position of the Pre-Raphaelite Poets and Painters.

For, like Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites too had to face another system of affirmations and escape them, impelled by an artistic impulse. The Victorian age began with certain definite "compromises." The Pre-Raphaelites ignored these altogether: They found the Victorian make-believes, Victorian complacency, Victorian faith in the specialist and the authority, Victorian ignorance about art and ideals, positively nauseating. The Movement they instituted in literature and art was in some respects a recoil from the scientific and philosophic pre-occupations of many Victorian thinkers. But it is not at all adequate to describe it as a recoil merely. It was the result of a special type of spiritual demand necessitating a special type of artistic activity. Escapism gives us the clue to the former while the 'Resurrection of the senses' to the latter, and these two naturally went together.

We have spoken of the 'Pre-Raphaelitism' of the 'P.R.B.' It is time that our position with regard to the Pre-Raphaelite Movement should be cleared up. We do not propose to enter into a comprehensive discussion of the Movement, but to examine certain popular fallacies regarding it, and state the point of view which we would like to adopt.

The Pre-Raphaelite Movement : certain dogmas and critical opinions discussed.

Professions and dogmas, criticisms and comments, have been more injurious than illuminating in this respect. The Pre-Raphaelites themselves used to utter certain dogmas which they themselves hardly trusted, and in their practice seldom observed. For one thing, they have been called the "enemies" of Victorian

compromise." But we must understand that so far as literature is concerned, they never carried on any active hostility to Victorianism, outside their own select circle. In painting they shocked the Academy no doubt, and many men besides, but disregard of conventions for the sheer delight of shocking public taste was never their purpose. Their sole subjective demand was at the root of all their efforts. They satisfied the needs of their own temperament in a world of dreams which could hardly challenge the varieties of the world of reality. This statement is, however, made with certain restrictions which we would be able to explain later on. Then, again, Ruskin with his favourite theories introduces another difficulty.

Ruskin's postulates stated.

Ruskin's lectures on Pre-Raphaelitism are a deliberate confusion of its style with Turner's. Ruskin's postulates are in brief these :—(*i*) The Pre-Raphaelites, according to him, paint from nature only. Pre-Raphaelitism, to quote his words, 'has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything down to the most minute detail, from nature and from nature only.'[1] The 'Return to Nature' theory was the cherished idol of Ruskin, derived no doubt from the 'naturalism' of Wordsworth, in which the element of hard ethics predominates. (*ii*) Secondly, they, according to Ruskin, oppose themselves in a body the entire feeling of the Renaissance schools, and imbibe the earnestness, sincerity and devotional spirit of the Italian painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (*iii*) Thirdly, 'If their sympathies,' says Ruskin, 'with the early artists led them into mediaevalism or Romanism, they will of course come to nothing. But I believe there is no danger of this, at least for the strongest among them. There may be some weak ones, whom the tractarian

Ruskin, Lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.

heresies may touch ; but if so, they will drop off like decayed branches from a strong stem.'

The first postulate, echoed in the Germ and also by Holman Hunt.

The first postulate of Ruskin was echoed by the Pre-Raphaelites with great persistency in their organ 'Germ' with its interesting sub-title, "Thoughts towards Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art." The first title suggested was simply, "Thoughts towards Nature," "a phrase," comments Mrs. William Rossetti, the editor, "though somewhat extra-peculiar, indicates, accurately enough, the predominant conception of the Brotherhood that an artist, whether painter or writer, ought to be bent upon a direct study of Nature and harmonise with her manifestations."[1] We can however be sure of only two artists, Millais and Hunt, who adhered to this practice, Hunt more than Millais. But Rossetti, and Burne-Jones too, developed along a somewhat different line, though at first they too repeated the formula of imitating Nature. The detail which they used with so much intensity of effect was, in Mr. Binyon's phrase, 'imagined detail.' Painters like Holman Hunt represented a tradition which was nohow representative of all the group. Indeed, it was not so much the 'Return to Nature' phase of the Romantic Movement that influenced Rossetti and those of his following, *viz.*, Morris, Burne-Jones, Swinburne, and others, the 'Oxford Group' as Megroz calls them ;[2] for a long time Rossetti was the "inspirational centre" of this group of poets and painters, and an "antiquarian strain," a revivalistic tendency was the dominating characteristic of this group. Hunt vehemently protested against their "revivalistic or over-heckian

1 The Germ, Introduction to the collected edition.
2 Megroz, Rossetti, p. 205.

manner" of painting.[1] But Hunt never understood clearly the psychology of Rossetti and his followers. He enunciated several formulae, but many of them were never carried into practice by neophytes like Burne-Jones. According to him, "Art, as of old, should stamp a nation's individuality; it should be the witness of its life to future generations." [2] But the works of the Rossetti school are marked by a delightful datelessness or a distinct mediaeval stamp. Hunt vehemently asserts that, Pre-Raphaelitism did not begin with Madox Brown, nor with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and that it was not antiquarianism in any sense and this last is the really vital point." [3] We are not here discussing the vexed question of leadership. But it is enough for our purpose to assert that the Oxford Group of poets and painters was dominated out and out by Rossetti, a man as he was of magnetic personality, and that Morris's statement, "I am steeped in mediaevalism generally," was not the expression of an individual idiosyncracy but a distinct party slogan. No doubt each artist went along his own way later on. The Pre-Raphaelite School was not, as Mr William Knight says,[4] "a syndicate or academic union. Being a brotherhood it was of necessity a transient bond of union, and sympathetic fellowship." Mr. Knight cites some interesting parallels. As a matter of fact, from the first there was something in Rossetti, in Woolner, in Burne-Jones, in Swinburne, that refused to be identified out and out with the new programme. This is a topic which we shall have opportunities to revert to later on. We must understand that though in painting the divergence was very great and was noticed very early, in literature the so-called 'Oxford Group' of artists kept together for many years.

1 Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Vol. I, p. xiv.
2 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 61.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 357.
4 Nineteenth Century Artists, Lecture Four.

Ruskin's second and third postulate.

The second and third postulate of Ruskin. The Oxford Movement: its profound influence.

We have dealt at length with one fallacy, that of naturalism of Ruskin and some similar opinions of Hunt. As to the Pre-Raphaelites' efforts to identify themselves with the earnest spirit of the early Italian painters—the second postulate of Ruskin—there can be no doubt: it was one essential aspect of their spiritual outlook. Again, the 'tractarian heresies' which Ruskin speaks of influenced many of the Pre-Raphaelites profoundly. Morris and Burne-Jones were almost induced to change to Romanism. The Tractarian Movement was in reality, as has been said, "Romanticism seen through the stained glass window." It directed men's attention, as Prof. Saintsbury says,[1] "to Mediaeval architecture, literature, thought as had never been the case before in England, and as has never been the case at all in any other country." In the early years of the Victorian era, some scholars were reviving the study of Old and Middle English, of Early French and Early Italian. Then came the Oxford Movement. All these provided great opportunities to the young men. Coleridge and Keats and some Romantic poets had indeed made some study of mediaeval literature, but they knew very little of Mediaeval Art accurately, though Keats had a great liking for it. But the Pre-Raphaelites were all men of erudition, and it was of the attractive, artistic side of the Middle Ages that they made a special study. What in Coleridge and Keats was a matter of spontaneous, almost unstudied, appreciation and art, became naturally with them a matter of conscious artistry. This is a subject which will be dwelt upon in a subsequent section. It was mainly in this particular type of mediaeval feeling that the Movement was a 'direct and legitimate development,' as Prof. Saintsbury calls it, and, as we have already shown, of the English Romantic Movement.

1 A Short History of English Literature.

Tennyson, the Intermediary.

We have stated the broad principles of our study. Before we proceed further it would be to our advantage to examine the position of Tennyson whom we have called the 'intermediary.'

Tennyson's position : his contact with the younger poets.

Tennyson's position is very interesting from our point of view. His influence on the younger poets—Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne—was considerable; to them, Tennyson was a veritable legend, so warm was their appreciation of him. His grand manner, the decorative richness and brilliance of colour, the clear-cut formal beauty of his art, and above all, the frequency of a dream-motive in his youthful poems, had a spell which the eager and earnest young men with similar tendencies could hardly escape. A study of their diaries and autobiographies shows how intimate was the contact of Tennyson with many of the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters. But it was not the mid-Victorian Tennyson who influenced them.

Resemblance with Keats.

The resemblance of the early Tennyson to Keats has been the commonplace of literary criticism for a very long time. Tennyson's admiration for Keats knew no bounds. "There is something of magic and of the innermost soul of poetry in almost everything that he wrote,"—said Tennyson once of Keats. Keats's influence is specially noticeable in the 1833 volume. After the publication of Tennyson's early poems Arthur Hallam wrote: "The true heir to Keats is found." Some critics like Mr. Churton Collins think that the influence

of Keats was very great, but Mr. Pyre thinks that[1] Tennyson's poems, "so far as they resemble those of Keats, resemble them by analogy, rather than through imitation." He goes on to say: "Tennyson and Keats were somewhat similar products of the forces of Elizabethanism, of mediaevalism, of classicism and of the 'return to Nature' which were at work about them both." But who of all the immediate forerunners of Tennyson represent ed these forces more than Keats? Not only so. Who could more truly express them with an excellence of art, a sure instinct for form, a sumptuous sensuousness than Keats? And these were the things which attracted the youthful Tennyson most. Excepting Wordsworth, the influence of Byron or Shelley was inconsiderable in comparison with that of Keats. The warmth of colour, the rich and minute inlaying, the placing of objects in sharp relief in a clear air, the dreamy atmosphere of poems like *The Lady of Shallott* or *The Recollections of an Arabian Night* are Keatsean. Verbal echoes, traces of imitation are many.[2] Tennyson's art, like Keats's, is eclectic and reminiscent. Tennyson, the master of verbal chocie, drew largely upon Keats the master artist, who "loaded every rift......... with ore."

A difference—art and artistry.

But there is a difference between Keats's verbal art and Tennyson's verbal art. Keats was not an unconscious artist, as his numerous amendations quoted by Prof. Selincourt in his masterly edition of Keats's poems show; but Keats was too absorbed in the sheer delight of sense-perception, too eager to embody his impressions in images and melodies with a spontaneous miracle of success, to choose and ponder, to linger over each

[1] Pyre, The Formation of Tennyson's Style (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 12).

[2] *Vide* Pyre.

word for a long time. Tennyson chose and pondered—his was the elaborate, conscious, learned art, arresting, after many moments of trial, some almost impalpable property, some hidden ray of beauty, or dim rhythmic aura, discovered by his own artistic perception, into his words and images. This consciousness developed into a conscientiousness, a virtuosity, a scrupulous artistry in the Pre-Raphaelite poets, whose art was usually too much charged with an 'intention' to have the air of spontaneous activity. Along this line, then, did the 'Resurrection of the senses' develop or degenerate.

What Tennyson missed in Keats was caught by the Pre-Raphaelite poets.

With the recognition of the great part which Tennyson played, it must also be recognised that there were many aspects of Keats's poetry which Tennyson missed or which did not lie along his proper line of development. The doctrine element which began more and more to enter into Tennyson's poetry, giving it its earnest meditative tone and perhaps lowering its place in the scale of poetic values, resembled nothing in Keats. Again, Tennyson had not the temper which makes for a genuine revivalist. Mediaevalism was no organic necessity to his poetic creativity. He could never be a thorough "Escapist." The Pre-Raphaelites had, however, the right temper, they caught the many subtler aspects missed in Keats's poetry by Tennyson with the delight of recognition, as akin to their own art and thought, as reminiscences of their own dear dreams. The attempt has been made to dub Tennyson a Pre-Raphaelite. But the difference is palpable. If we compare Tennyson's Arthurian productions with those of Morris, who once wrote "Tennyson's Sir Galahad is rather a mild youth," we shall easily notice great divergence in temper. Rossetti preferred Malory's 'Morte D'Arthur' to Tennyson's 'Idylls' as containing "the weird element in its

perfection.'[1] Inspite of this, however, we must recognise the great spell which some aspects of Tennyson's poetry exercised on the methods and temper of the Pre-Raphaelite; the influence of his *Mariana in the Moated Grange* upon Christina Rossetti's *Prince's Progress*, or that of his *Lady of Shallott* upon her dreamy lyrics, to mention only a few instances, was considerable. So Tennyson's position as an intermediary and guide is well assured.

II. Thought Affinities.

A. The Mood of Escape.

We have treated of the general and historical aspects of the question. Let us now come down to the central part of our thesis, the romantic temper, the mood of escape which is, as we have stated, the essential basis of affinity between Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites.

The " Resurrection of the Senses and their self-expression."

The words, " Resurrection of the Senses and their self-expression working under the law of beauty," need elaboration first of all. It was the innocent poetry of the senses which these poets wrote at their best. In this lay their *forte*, not in dogmatising, not in singing of the agonies and the strife of human life. Mere concepts, abstractions, could not force any pure lyric strain from them—they dealt with well-knit, colourful living images, not with pale, misty ideas. Wordsworth and Shelley did their best with ideas, they could raise them to the power of song ; but though Keats or Rossetti may now and then—and they often do—deal with abstract thought, they give it a sensuous embodiment, or to put it more accurately, they 'sense' it and express the sense-impression. It was the thrill of

[1] Hall Caine.

'Wonder' that they sought in their contact with things and thoughts. Keats and Rossetti had a thirst for knowledge which came of their keen emotional unrest, hence their aestheticism had its intellectual counterpart also in the rich harvest of thought out of the suggestions which life had to offer. A keen sense of the ultimates informs many of their greatest poems. But their thoughts have all a special character and it is only when they gather the force of feeling—the feel of a tactile body—that these poets express them in art. They are pre-eminently men of 'sensations,'—'sensations' in its highest sense which include intuition too, "with whom the very activities of intelligence bring into play concrete notions, images and qualities." No external force guided their utterance, they were artists of the genuine kind. Theirs was the resurrection of the senses and their self-expression. It was the unified, integral impressions of the senses that they expressed with a profound artistic self-centredness, not borrowed doctrines. "What irritates most students," says Williams, "is that Rossetti is relatively guiltless to ideas."[1] And in this perhaps lies the chance of permanence of the works of Rossetti. For ideas may change, but poetry in its essence never fails in its appeal.

It is then their sensuousness that was their strong point. To Rossetti religion was as much a matter of sensuous apprehension as of spiritual aspiration. Morris's delight in the Middle Ages was mainly because of his sensuous delight in the beautiful fabrics, art products and the varied pageantry of mediaeval life. Swinburne's frank delight in the use of the senses shocked the prim mid-Victorians. Christina Rossetti had a temperamental sensuousness—a gift of which she made excellent application in art, inspite of her religious preoccupations.

"Working under the Law of Beauty."

And they, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, obeyed only one law, the 'law of beauty;' very seldom did they swerve from

[1] Williams, Studies in Victorian Literature, p. 188.

this standpoint to achieve any problematic, idealistic, doctrinal or didactic solution of some so-called 'human problem,' and when they did swerve from this standpoint and indulged in moods of momentary self-distrust—propelled at times however by an inner urge, the nature of which we shall explain—they did it usually to the detriment of their art. Their cult of art was a manly, healthy, genuinely absorbing, nourishing cult and when led by current opinions, they experimented in self-accusation as many Romantics did, as Coleridge in—

Fits of self-distrust and self-accusation—a 'Romantic' trait; misunderstandings.

"Was it right
While my unnumbered brethren toiled and toiled
That I should dream away the entrusted hours
On rose-leaf beds, pampering the coward heart
With feelings all too delicate for use?"—

or Keats in—

"What benefit canst thou do, or all thy tribe
To the great world? Thou art a dreaming thief,
A fever of thyself."

Even then they never burst out in such cynical declamations as issued from the mouth of the penitent Flaubert or the penitent Oscar Wilde. It was a mistake for them to indulge in self-accusations, their best guarantee of success lay in the exquisite exercise of a dream-faculty, not in facing the dragon nor in singing of 'fierce confederate storm of sorrow' 'barricaded ever more' within city walls. Keats was Shakespearean not in so far as he accused himself of meaningless charges of 'dreaming,' but in so far as he exercised his faculties, followed the lead of his genius from the chaotic beauty of *Sleep and Poetry* to the realised beauty and complete harmony of expression in the *Odes*. So Morris too misunderstood his function in so far as he thought that he would be able to reform the economic affairs of society; for though he was very much well-intentioned he was too much of a dreamer, too consistently a dreamer to get intimate with the

hard, rock-ribbed principles of practical economics.[1] 'The weary work of militant socialism' was taken up by him only as an elaboration of his dream motive, and when it tired him, he gave it up. He was continually seeking refuge from stress and strain in dream "of some settled and seeming changeless order, whether such as a vision of the future or recreated from a tradition of the past." [2] Characteristically enough, More's 'Utopia' influenced him more than Karl Marx's 'Capital.' "My word," he wrote, "is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another." And he had to return to romance in his old age.

Some sincere expressions of their artistic creed—Keats and Morris.

So Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites had doubts about their mission, and while they achieved many 'perfect rounds,' they littered the gound with many 'broken arcs,' too. Only now and then would the full realisation of their artistic mission dawn on them and they would express with perfect humility what they really stood for. This Keats does in his *Ode to Maia, written on a May Day.*

"Mother of Hermes! and still youthful Maia!
May I sing to thee
As thou wast hymned on the shores of Baiae?
Or may I woo thee
In earlier Sicilian? or thy smiles
Seek as they once were sought, in Grecian isles,
By bards who died on the pleasant sward,
Leaving great verse unto a little clan?
O, give me their old vigour, and unheard
Save of the quiet primrose, and the span
Of heaven and few ears,
Rounded by thee, my song should die away
Content as theirs,
Rich in the simple worship of a day."

[1] I put some conscience in trying to learn the economic side of socialism. and even tackled Marx though I suffered agonies of confusion of the brain, reading the economics of that work.—Morris.

[2] Mackail.

These lines have a calmly circulating sap of life in them, a sense of perfect satisfaction that comes of the full realisation of the mission of an entire life. We find another memorable expression in Morris's

"Of Heaven or Hell I have no power to sing,
I cannot ease the burden of your fears,
Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
Nor for my words shall you forget your tears,
Or hope again for aught that I can say,
The idle singer of an empty day.

....

"Dreamer of dreams, born out of my due time,
Why should I strive to set the crooked straight ?
Let it suffice me that my murmuring rhyme
Beats with light wing against the ivory gate,
Telling a tale not too importunate
To those who in the sleepy region stay,
Lulled by the singer of an empty day.

....

So with this Earthly Paradise it is,
If ye will read aright, and pardon me,
Who strive to build a shadowy isle of bliss
Midmost the beating of the steely sea,
Where tossed about all hearts of men must be ;
Whose ravening monsters mighty men shall slay,
Not the poor singer of an empty day."

——*Foreword to Earthly Paradise.*

Such sincere expressions, divested of all inorganic brilliant trappings of intellectual disquietude, are not many. But they occur now and then and tell us so much. If we be not tempted, as we often are, to read deep metaphysical meanings in Keats's famous Truth-*cum*-Beauty theory, we may find in it a memorable statement of an authentic

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty."

artistic view of life, as in

> "Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all *ye need to know.*"

Many interpretations of these lines we are familiar with, beginning with Matthew Arnold's "No, it is not all; but it is true, deeply true and we have deep need to know" down to Mr. Middleton Murry's philosophical exposition. William Rossetti gives us perhaps a very satisfying interpretation—"Any beauty which is not truthful (if any such there be) and any truth which is not beautiful (if any such there be) are of no practical importance to mankind, in their mundane condition. But in fact there are none such, for to the human mind, beauty and truth are one and the same thing." Now if we substitute 'to the artists' for 'to mankind' and 'to the mind of the artist' for 'to the human mind,' we get a clearer meaning. Keats was not stating, we recognise, a simple aesthetic formula, but was putting on record a deeply realised truth. But more of it later on. We need not quarrel here with interpretations. Keats has told us that this harmony between truth and beauty is what we need to know. Let us take up the artist's attitude, who says "We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us," "What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth whether it existed before or not," the artist whom praise and blame did not affect, as he was enamoured of the mighty abstract principle of "Beauty in all things."

We have talked of the dreaming faculty of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, and we have said that it lies at the root of their artistic activity. We have also mentioned their cult of beauty and their romantic "resurrection of the senses."

The many moods and manner of escape—the special features of the 'escapism' of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets.

So they all knew the difficult art of using their five senses, and they were passionate in their quest for beauty. The world

of labelled, neatly ordered things proved too narrow, too dreary and monotonous, and there was a tacit conspiracy of escaping into some dreamland of beauty. They were all conspirators, Coleridge and Keats, Keats more than Coleridge. Are we sure that it was some historical Kubla Khan who 'decreed' the 'sunny pleasure dome' with 'caves of ice' in Xanadu or the epicurean dreamer Coleridge himself? And who opened the magic casements 'on the foam of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn'? And this conspiracy was carried forward by the Pre-Raphaelites, by the poet Rossetti, as also the painter Burne-Jones. And this conspiracy, we have tried to establish, is authentically romantic. So it would be rather rash to limit it to Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. Hellenism, Mediaevalism, Orientalism, are all typically 'Escapistic' cults and the 'Escapistic' tendency is at work even in the laboured epical orientalism of Southey and Moore, in the passionate exciticism of Byron. The East hast inspired some poems of exquisite uniform finish, fastidious, isolated beauty and keen passion of Keats, Coleridge, Swinburne, Tennyson and Morris. So there are many moods of 'Escapism' and many manners, though in the predominance of a peculiar subjective quality and a peculiar kind of aesthetic and artistic approach, the 'Escapism' of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites differ from that of others.

The conspiracy to escape failed in the last analysis.

It was, then, agreed that there would be an escape into the dream-world, a romantic region of superabundant beauty. There must be, as Coleridge put it, 'a willing suspension of disbelief' that constitutes a 'poetic faith.' And the poetry through which this escape was effected was prevailingly melancholy. This makes us pause. Why did the conspiracy fail? The conspiracy did fail we may admit once for all; the conspirators could not keep up their tenets, they could not abandon themselves to their dream-vision without the least trace of self-distrust for

any long time. Keats succeeded more than others when he wrote the *Ode to Autumn* for example, a poem which has the freshness of a joyous vision, but in Keats too there was a duality, as we have shown, and all the poets had an insistent groundtone of melancholy strain, wailing subduedly sometimes and more articulately at other times, beneath almost all their utterances. The conspiracy failed. Again we ask, why, did these earnest men who identified truth with beauty, who loved, adored, worshipped beauty and created beauty should stop short of the perfection and view it through a haze of melancholy? The self-abandonment was not complete, but why?

The habitual tone of melancholy symptomatic of a deep failure.

These poets were not ordinary men, but they were cursed with an enormous capacity for sense-perception, for sensuous experience, for absorption, for distilling and recovering the remotest thrill of pleasure from the pile of dead facts and events and thoughts. And they sought to abandon themselves, to surrender their existence to the objects of beauty and desire—and take up their existence. Their position was clearly indicated by Keats when he wrote—"A poet is the most unpoetical of anything in existence, because he has no Identity—he is continually in for and filling some other body."[1] He had struck upon the idea before, when in speaking of the 'Negative Capability' he had defined it as "when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason."[2] But this obliteration of the obtrusive edges of personality into the very stuff of the delightful experience of the moment could not be finally achieved, the supreme surrender was missed for some fatal discrepancy in the ritual. The mood of high poetic luxury and serene self-surrender in which

[1] Letter to Woodhouse, 27th Oct., 1818.
[2] Letter to his brothers George and Thomas, 22nd Dec., 1817.

Keats wrote—" pain had no sting, and pleasure's wreath no flower "[1]—was not habitual with him or others. There is an intensity of concentration, of preception, Keats at times 'wishes to die into nature,' 'to cease upon the midnight with no pain,' but this concentration is of a disturbed, strenuous kind. There is indeed an element of morbidity in the disturbed psychic state of these master minds. A constant morbidezza[2] is noticeable in Rossetti—that itself constitutes a curious attraction of his poems. It is also the true index of his mystical failure. Such an element of morbidity is discernible in the frenzy of passion, 'the proud bitterness of satiety, the tragic and sinister aspects of destruction' as depicted in Swinburne's poems—

> " Of sweet came sour, of day came night,
> Of long desire came brief delight."[3]

In him there is a strain resembling the old incommunicable sorrow, the primitive melancholy as in the *Garden of Cymodoce* in which is heard 'the wail over the world of all that weep.' There is something of it in the recurrent refrain of 'Vanity of vanities,' of lost opportunities, in the insistent monotony of pathos of Christina Rossetti's poems—

> " Too late for love, too late for joy,
> Too late, too late!
> You loitered on the road too long,
> You trifled at the gate:
> The enchanted dove upon her branch
> Died without a mate."[4]

Morris's melancholy preoccupation with the subject of death or that of the unsuccessful man or despised lover was symptomatic of this feeling. A lonely, isolated afternoon atmosphere—a strange half-light of melancholy serenity—is the background of

1 Ode on Indolence.
2 Saintsbury.
3 Swinburne, Castelard.
4 C. Rossetti, The Prince's Progress.

most of his poems. In his poems men and women are 'Made sad by dew and wind and tree-barr'd[1] moon.'

It is all admitted, and again we ask the question, why? The answer to this query will lead us to the shrine of the central mystery, a deep mystery indeed of the human mind, which has perhaps a universal ethical significance.

The note of melancholy is heard in all romantic literature ; it is hardly ever absent in the long journey from the world of reality to the 'tower of Ivory' or the 'Well at the world's end.' But this melancholy was due, in the case of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, to some peculiar psychical causes, which operate especially in modern romantic literature. To understand the central spring of poetic activity of our romantic poets, we must understand the significance of this 'romantic melancholy.'

The melancholy in the 'Precursors' and the romantic melancholy in modern literature.

The English Romantic Movement had a tradition of melancholy—a typically eighteenth century product—behind it. In many eighteenth century writers the fondness for melancholy scenes and reveries, for cool, dark shades and retreats and ruins, for desolate nooks and corners and twilight scenes was rampant. It was the mood of Milton's 'Il Penseroso' ; we find it in Young, in Gray, in Collins and many others, though the more wild and unrestrained melancholy of Macpherson has a special feature of its own. After them, Coleridge was the next great melancholy writer. But here is a difference. For the first time we find the great obstinate factor, 'temperament,' invading and determining the tone of expression. Coleridge's melancholy has something of Cowper's malady of conscience, a conscience that is not solaced by reason, and something more. Coleridge's sensibility was darkened and subtilised by many painful spiritual experi-

[1] Morris, King Arthur's Tomb.

ences and was brought into a troubled mood by a restless practice of introspection. In Keats and Shelley another note of melancholy is heard, a note more modern (though Shelley's melancholy is not of a typically modern type),. more a matter of temperament and less a matter of conscience. Shelley, in his supreme surrender to the ideal, could get the better of reality very often; to him the ideal was the absolute reality, it propelled him, enveloped him, absorbed him. But Keats was no idealist of the type of Shelley. Creation of beauty was a matter of temperamental necessity with him, and a rift in the lute would result in a discordant strain. Shelley was melancholy as the world disappointed him, he was so sure about the ideal ; and Keats was melancholy as the dream failed to give him the convincing satisfaction of reality, as the claims of the world which he sought to ignore asserted themselves, as the 'agonies, the strife of human life' would rise in the scale of values. It was this melancholy that was transmitted to the Pre-Raphaelite poets. It is easily distinguished from the proud, bitter melancholy of Byron which provided him with a voluptuous satisfaction as also a magnificent pose.

We must dive deeper into the problem to discover the basis of this type of romantic melancholy which is found in Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. This melancholy had, we believe, a double basis—a sensational basis as well as a spiritual basis.

The double basis of this romantic melancholy : (1) sensational.

"A life founded upon sensations reveals the secret of its ultimate melancholy," says M. Cazamian. M. Cazamian's analysis would apply to the decadents, the so-called Aesthetics only, not to Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. But this statement has some application here too. The cloying, soulless satiety of enjoyment did not make these poets view things with a cynical melancholy. But it was their intensity of sense-perception,

an intensity of perception that is thoroughly disquiet in its erotic application as in Swinburne, that brought about a melancholy to some extent. Let us take Keats as a typical example. The fine senses were 'resurrected' and the first efforts of Keats at expression were 'mere suggestions or luxurious embroidery woven faintly round sensation,' as we find in many places in his *Sleep and Poetry* and *Endymion.* But gradually an intensification of the process began, closer contacts with the world of sensation at fiery points took place, and perfect, crystallised expressions of final beauty blossomed forth, as in—

"Now more than ever seems it rich to die"
Far, far around shall these dark-cluster'd trees
Fledge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep"

But this very gift of intense perception brought Keats, as it brought the Pre-Raphaelite poets, very near a great emotional factor, pain. Its appeal was great. This could not be avoided and this was tremendously enhanced by their spiritual unrest.

The 'Shakespearean' efforts of Keats to master pain.

Keats came to feel that 'his joys were not at all full until they were sharpened into pain,' he could not skim over the surface-beauties of the world, he sought to sense all, and beneath the surface he found pain. And what a mighty 'Shakespearean' effort was his to master it. He did not want to shirk it or seek creeds to deaden it.[1] He was the genuine artist, who was following the lead of his genius. He must 'sense' all, know all

[1] We must understand the difference between Keats's attitude to pain and Wordsworth's attitude. Keats was mainly an escapist, Wordsworth mainly a moralist. To Keats pain was an emotional factor, he sought to 'sense' it, to squeeze an element of beauty from it, an escapist and a lover of beauty as he was. He did not view pain or sorrow as an inevitable part—very significant—of a larger, harmonious scheme of things like Wordsworth or Browning. Similar was the case with Rossetti and Swinburne. This 'emotional' treatment of sorrow as distinguished from an intellectual, abstract treatment, we should note.

and squeeze the last drop of beauty from all things. He wanted to take the sense of this pain into his blood, to express it, to distil the essence of beauty underlying all sorrows and sufferings. There was not, so far as his successful works go, any ethics in this effort, any conscious humanitarian purpose in it. Keats was indeed Shakespearean in his attempt to master sorrow, but there is this great difference that while in Shakespeare the humanitarian purpose, the ethical import is palpably present, Keats with his superabundant power of perception sought to translate all pain in terms of his inner artistic purpose. Keats had nothing of Shakespeare's comprehensive humanity, but he had the highly artistic power of releasing a soul of beauty from sorrow. The dramatic method of Shakespeare is another point of distinction. But we are digressing. The point is that Keats succeeded to a great extent in this, just as Rossetti succeeded. Keats found 'sorrow-making' more beautiful than beauty's self' the face of Thea; [1] he sang of painful pleasures, pain realised through an intense perceptive process and transmuted into a pleasure. This also we find in an astonishing manner in many sonnets of Rossetti. But did Keats or Rossetti succeed in transmuting all pains into pleasure altogether? No. Keats wrote of melancholy—

> "She dwells with Beauty—Beauty that must die;
> And Joy whose hand is ever at his lips
> Bidding adieu; and aching Pleasure nigh,
> Turning to poison while the bee-mouth sips;
> Ay, in the very temple of delight
> Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine." [1]

This note is echoed again and again in the poems of Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, Patmore, Fitzgerald and others. Keats does not try to explain this sorrow away. Keats, 'the most sorrowful of all poets' as Mr. Murry calls him, [2] what is the conclusion that Keats arrives at? It is not the man

[1] Ode on Melancholy.

[2] Murry, Keats and Shakespeare; also his preface to the works of Keats (Evlande).

who ignores melancholy, ignores all sorrows, that knows it best, but the enjoyer, who wants to perceive it intensely—

> ... 'seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
> Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine;
> His soul shall taste the sadness of her might.
> And be among her cloudy trophies hung.'[1]

So Keats had this half-voluptuous fascination for the great emotional factor, sorrow. With this may well be compared Swinburne's review of Morris's early poems—" Not the luxuries of pleasure in their first simple form, but the sharp and cruel enjoyments of pain, the acrid relish of suffering felt or inflicted, the sides on which Nature looks unnatural, go to make up the stuff and substance of this poetry." This is true of many poems of Swinburne too. Again, describing Rossetti's Lilith,[2] he says, " The sleepy splendour of the picture is a fit raiment for the idea incarnate of faultless fleshy beauty and the peril of pleasure unavoidable." " The peril of pleasure unavoidable ! " How expressive ! But why 'unavoidable'? The answer brings us to the second factor of the problem.

(ii) The spiritual basis—an irritating self-consciousness and self-division.

The sensational basis does not explain everything. No doubt the emotional attraction of sad or sorrowful themes was great, the 'wonder' element in them was great, but there was a deeper basis of spiritual distress of which the habitual liking for subjects of 'unsolved moods of trouble and dispeace' was only a symptom.

These poets made the individual sensibility with its unreasonable and illogical claims—unreasonable and illogical in being complex, intricate, idiosyncratic—the standard of evaluation ;

[1] Ode on Melancholy.

[2] Swinburne, Essays and Studies.

with it they sought to judge the work of the world of reality. Naturally the world of reality failed to prove satisfactory as they wanted a beauty not of the human earth, a grace not of the human sky. So they planned an escape to the ideal world—

'I am pale with sick desire,
For my heart is far away
From this world's fitful fire
And this world's waning day;
In a dream it overleaps
A world of tedious ills
To where the sunshine sleeps
On the everlasting hills,—"

writes Christina Rossetti in an authentic 'Escapistic' strain.[1] But in this process of escape they could hardly avoid an irritating self-consciousness. Morris avoided it to a great extent, his mediaevalism was the child's frank wonder in the fairy land—a simple, genuine thing. Keats, too, as we have already stated, avoided it to a great extent. But nobody could avoid it altogether. They abandoned themselves to their dream-yearnings and a half-conscious knowledge of the insistent contrast between the world of reality and the world of dreams subsisted in their mind. The memory of the sunderings from the moorings of reality remained because they all had a strong experiencing nature, a strong sensuous faculty. Rossetti had a remarkable dramatic instinct too, as displayed in his *Last Confession*. Morris too had this instinct, as his early poems—*The Defence of Guinevere* series—show. So there was the difficulty. The actualising instinct was at war with the longings of the temperament. Christina Rossetti in her devotional poems avoided this conflict successfully, soaring as she did above reality, a process for which she found ample support in the scripture and tradition. She had thus a secure conviction that she was treading ways, ways that are known and honoured. Others could not

[1] C. Rossetti, I will Lift up mine Eyes unto the Hills.

have this conviction as they had ventured into an unknown that, inspite of its alluring beauty, had not the convincing foundation of tradition or reason. Beauty they found in the dream-region, but did they not leave truth behind? Was beauty the only truth after all? Was Keats correct, was he not uttering a dogma when he identified the two? Does not truth include the 'agonies, the strife' of human life? And the 'agonies, the strife' are not 'beautiful,' they are 'human,' they are 'significant'! Could they get over this consciousness? Periods of depression would naturally set in. The Garden of Hesperides with its golden fruits attracted them from afar, but was it all right with them in leaving the shore of the continent? Was the beauty they sought permanent? Could it stand against everything? Christina Rossetti was aware of this when she wrote—

> "My castle stood of white transparent glass
> Glittering and frail with many a fretted spire,
> But when the summer sunset came to pass
> It kindled into fire." [1]

Remarkable compensatory efforts.

There could hardly be a turning back. Keats tried to frame a synthesis out of this conflict between dream and reality, but that was not achieved, the duality in him remained, his "all ye need to know," which has the abrupt air of a dogmatic statement, is a sufficient testimony to his failure. His 'humanitarian' poems—or declamations—are his compromises with reality, and as compromises they are not successful, they are troubled, full of unrest or with a dogmatic ring. Strange 'wafts of modernism' come now and then in the verses of D. G. Rossetti and his sister. Are not 'Jenny,' 'The Last Confession,' 'The Burden of Nineveh,' The Picture Found' sufficiently 'modern,' 'human'? One half regrets that Rossetti could not come back for good along

[1] C. Rossetti, 'From House to Home.'

this avenue to the world of reality! but the return could not be effected, call it the conflict between intellect and feeling, between head and heart. Again, what have we to say of C. Rossetti's *Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children* or her *Today for Me*? These are compensatory efforts. Morris's *Mother and Son*, his socialist pamphlets are all compensatory efforts. And Swinburne in his *Songs before Sunrise*, in his panegyrics on Landor and Hugo and Mazzini, made huge compensatory efforts, though viewing the affair critically we find that it was an abstract passion that propelled him, a cerebral passion, not a passion of the heart.

The pangs of frustration and despair courted by Keats, Rossetti and others.

But we must take note here of another factor. There was trouble and frustration of hopes. But this frustration was not fully realised by all of them. C. Rossetti realised it when she wrote—

> "Earth is too full of loss with its dividing sea,
> But Paradise upbuilds the bower for the bride." [1]

For her there was a passage from the 'House' to 'Home.' But in her secular songs the dream-longing is not absent. As to the rest, Keats and Rossetti and Swinburne and Morris, their highly sensuous and emotional nature sought, nay, courted exquisite imaginative tortures; the very pangs of frustration had a fascination for them as if these tortures brought a sense of relief to their high-strung, complex, and in some respects, morbid psychology, a psychology which specially with Rossetti and Swinburne, anticipates in dark moments, that of the English and French Decadents ("Fin de siècle").

This conflict of purpose we should carefully note. "The resurrection of the senses" resulted, we have seen, in certain types of

[1] C. Rossetti, Saints and Angels.

romantic activity which were prevailingly escapistic. In certain poets like Wordsworth even, who belong to a different order of romanticists altogether, escapistic activity blends with other and more powerful activities (*viz.*, idealistic, moralistic, etc.) which keep it within proper bounds. In the case of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, the escapistic activities got the upper hand and guided their art-creations. But the very factor—the 'resurrection of the senses'—which threw them upon the dream-world for the realisation of their inmost longings for beauty, made them acquainted with the great emotional factor—pain—for pain possesses enormous sense-value. Again, the very instinct for the concrete, for the sensuous, the actual, as distinguished from the abstract and intellectual, was instrumental in making these artists gradually aware of the weakness of their foundation. Wordsworth and Shelley, dreaming of millenniums or a beneficent world spirit, could generally ignore the little troublesome things. They could bring the celandine, the skylark, the abstract idea of love or the abstract idea of beauty within the sweep of one formula. But not so Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. Keats 'sensed' 'verdurous gloom and winding mossy ways,' and with this keen faculty, he could easily 'sense decay and death'—'where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies'! So this keen sense of the actual fermented troublesome questionings within their heart; were they not idle dreamers after all? Were they not following the lure of an uncertain deity, a lady Beauty, ignoring the claims of reality? Was not reality something quite different from their vision of beauty?

But they did not easily give way; Keats and Rossetti tried to master pain, and magnificent was their effort. But ultimately they had to give way. Keats called himself a 'dreamer weak,' Rossetti wrote 'Jenny' and drew 'Found,' Morris wrote his socialist pamphlets, without being able to distinguish between work and play, ideal and real; Swinburne wrote on liberty and Italy, G. Rossetti wrote on social problems—all in the nature of so many propitiatory offerings to the exacting Goddess of

Reality! And again, they knew not what they were about, they made fitful efforts to come to terms, drifted away, and dreamed on.

Now the explanation of how 'Jenny' and 'A Last Confession' could be written by the writer of the 'Blessed Damozel,' how similar efforts could be made by other dreamers, how Keats could develop in a 'Shakespearean' way, has been found. We know the men now. We can point out the central spring of their poetic activity—it is a musical spring no doubt, reflecting strange lights and producing enchantment of colour-effects; but from a distance the musical noise of the spring, sounds like the distant wailing of a troubled spirit lost in the region of the unknown, where the enchanted knight loiters 'palely,' the doomed Rose Mary struggles against her fate, and the travellers stand horror-struck before 'the Hollow Land.'

B. The Modes of Escape—the Dream-worlds.

We now know the nature of the mood of their escape. So we are in a position to examine the different modes of escape of these past masters of escape, past masters who failed to effect a successful escape, in the last analysis. This failure has a deep ethical meaning no doubt, but the very attempts too were 'things of beauty,' and as such 'a joy for ever': we are here concerned with the attempts.

They sought dream-regions. The urge was subjective, but tradition too helped them—as we have already suggested—greatly. There was the mediaeval world of romantic tradition with its constantly shifting wonders, there was the sunny Hellenic world, a recent discovery, so to say, of the romantic spirit though it had its Elizabethan precedents. The marvels of the world of beauty, of the world of unreality, were at their door. While the Pre-Raphaelites had training, the erudite appreciation, quick eye and trained fingers, Keats was receptive, wide-eyed, but they picked up almost the same gems because the urge was the same.

And what marvellous workmanship on the materials of tradition, what subtle transfusion of the lore of the past, of the beauty of the past!

Let us now descend to particulars—to the particular dream-worlds which they peopled with their aspirations and reshaped to their heart's desire.

The Mediaeval World.

The mediaeval world was their first and long cherished discovery.

As they were not the only adventurers in the field it would be highly instructive to differentiate their methods and approaches from those of others—the historical and comparative aspects of the question must be constantly kept open.

The Gothic Tradition.

It would not do to trace here the beginnings of the Gothic Revival, to distinguish all the sources of English Mediaevalism. It is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Mediaevalism of Scott as well as the Mediaevalism of Coleridge and others owed many things to the cruder Gothicism of the precursors, to the foolish, melodramatic extravagances of the Radcliffian school, to the Reliques of Percy, to the German *diablerie*, just as these traditional matters influenced Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne deeply. With this simple admission, we take up our discussion with Coleridge and Scott.

The Mediaevalism of Scott contrasted with that of Coleridge and Keats: Romance and Romanticism.

Scott was a great revivalist, and so too were Coleridge and Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. But the revivalism of Scott was poles apart from that of the latter, the difference is the difference that lies between 'Romanticism' and 'Romance.'

Scott was busy in 'romancing,' it was his life's work, but the others were 'romanticizing'—it was their delight In romanticism, there are all the elements of romance—all its themes and moods, but there is a thorough re-creation, a transfusion of these elements in the light of a peculiar mood, of a peculiar temper. The product may at times be of a very sophisticated cast, indeed many Pre-Raphaelite products have the distressing note of conscious artistry, but the value is different, and the standard of evaluation must be different too. Scott reproduced with a healthy, objective art—his romance admitted of daylight and realism, of humour and characterisation, of the broad activities of daily life. He did not look at the past through an atmosphere of wonder. To him the past was 'no repertory of wonders but the present gone by.' What he had in common with the romantic temper was his feeling for the picturesque, for colour, for contrast.

How different is the method of Coleridge, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites! Their mediaevalism admits of no realism; the verity of Coleridge or Keats or Rossetti is the convincing verity of human emotions, of psychology, not of the dead details. Again, we must remember the 'pure romance' theory. The romance literature has the 'pure romance' element, but not in any great degree, while the romantic literature is animated by it. Every detail that Coleridge, Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites use quivers with a pulse of life that is not their own. Then these romanticists have no humour.

The Emotional Aspects of Mediaeval Life which Scott missed, and Keats and Coleridge caught.

They and Scott approached the many-sided life of the Middle Ages from different directions. Scott understood well the picturesque aspects—the pageantry of mediaeval life, the ceremonies and costumes, the lighter moods of mediaeval mind, as also 'the soul of chivalry and adventure' which was a living thing in the aristocratic sphere of mediaeval life. But Scott—

though he missed the note of bitter criticism and satire (as in *Pier's Plowman*) of the plebian life—understood well the fondness for realism, for humour, which too was thoroughly mediaeval, as is apparent in Chaucer, in Jean de Meung. But he missed many things else—for he was not temperamentally fit for them. The emotional aspects of mediaeval life, the religious and speculative sides, which fostered a spirit of mystical adoration, half-erotic, half-spiritual, and the subtleties of scholasticism, he altogether missed. He also failed to understand the more ethereal or reckless 'chords' of the mediaeval mind, the 'wonder' element, the glamour of the supernatural which was as a familiar reality to the men of the Middle Ages. His 'downright and daylight genius' was ill-suited to all kinds of *diabeleric* and subtlety, though he experimented in exploiting the supernatural machinery without conveying its authentic thrill.

And what he did not understand, the other revivalists did. They too had Scott's fondness for the picturesque, for colour, for contrast; they too exploited the machinery, the regular language and trapping of mediaeval romances, but through these they gave expression to a lyric mood, the 'Escapist' impulse, their aim being not faithful reproduction but a certain emotional satisfaction. Characteristically enough, the historical sense was not at all strong in them, they had no sense of locality—especially Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. The events in Keats's *Eve of St. Agnes*, his *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, his *Eve of St. Mark*, all take place in a delightful no man's land; even the Corinth of *Lamia* is not the historical Corinth. It is not mere confusion of chronology, mere anachronism that we find here—for a vein of delightful anachronism may be found in the mediaeval romances too. History was not at all the background chosen by Keats, the background was the background of a dream, of a subjective impulse, of an emotional demand. This was characteristic of the Pre-Raphaelite poets too. Can we localise the Castle in Rossetti's *Sister Helen* or that in his *Bride's Prelude*? In the latter poem,

The historical sense absent in them.

great public events are only hinted at. We cannot be sure of the time, or even the place of happening, of the events of *Troy Town* or *Eden Bower*, or *The Staff and the Scrip*. No doubt Rossetti attempted historical themes too, as in the *King's Tragedy* or *The White Ship*, but the aim was not to give us a faithful picture of a historical past, but to bring home to us the thrillingly living emotion of an incident, its glamour, its uncanny attraction. This emotional element was naturally the greatest attraction of these poets in the past, it is symptomatic of their subjective preoccupation that with the exception of Morris, they had no liking for the healthy display of action, for fights and forays. In Christina Rossetti again, all these characteristics appear. There is no sense of locality in her *Prince's Progress*, and hardly any in Swinburne's *King's Daughter*, *Sea-Swallow*, *The Bloody Son*, his Scotch ballads, his *Tale of Balen* or *Tristram of Lyonesse*. Again, a charming datelessness characterises all the romances of Morris—in prose and verse, from *Svend and his Brethren* to *The Roots of the Mountain*, from Repunzel to the tales in the *Earthly Paradise*.

Characteristic choice of themes ; reason, a certain emotional satisfaction.

These poets, again, exhibit their respective tastes and inclinations in their choice of subjects. Keats chooses from so cheerful a writer as Boccaccio a tale of tragic passion, for, from the unshrinking intensity and poignancy of this passion he derived perhaps an emotional satisfaction. His *Lamia* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* have both an unhealthy, morbid, wasting erotic motive, which played, if we recognise the fact frankly, so great a part in Keats's own life. Rossetti characteristically chooses, with his morbid psychology, stories which have tragic death, frustration of hopes, sinister concealments, revenge, stark passion as their themes.[1] Christina Rossetti,

[1] *E.g.*, The Bride's Prelude, Sister Helen, Rose Mary, etc.

whose life on its secular side was a long tale of sorrows and sufferings, of frustration of love and hope and of repressed desires, chooses a theme of long fruitless waiting for her *Prince's Progress*. Morris had a healthy mind and outlook, but his melancholy, dreamy disposition made him fond of themes which, though they may have, as we see, many mail-shattering strokes and profuse shedding of blood, have an atmosphere of wistful, sunset-coloured melancholy; some pieces like the *Blue Closet*, the *Tune of Seven Towers and Cold Wings* are taken straight out of a dreamland of vague despair. It would be quite wrong to suppose that Morris had Scott's passion for action. Morris's portrayal of action has the vague dreamy quality which wraps up the fightings of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, a thing which has reappeared in the poem of John Masefield. Swinburne, too, characteristically enough, chooses tragic, heart-rending themes —not one of his mediaeval pieces is cheerful reading. But in his case we must remember that his mediaevalism was never profound—it was ' that of a school.' Nor must we try to explain the tragic quality of the themes of these poets by the tragic affairs of their lives. They were sincere artists, but too great artists to be frankly autobiographical. A large part of the problem is explained by the spiritual unrest we have already explained, though this spiritual unrest had, no doubt, its inextricable links with the emotions and feelings of their lives.

The artistic aspect of mediaeval life, a discovery.

Another factor about their mediaevalism should be noted here. There was one aspect of mediaeval life which Scott did not penetrate into, and Coleridge passed by—*viz.*, its artistic aspect, which it was the glory of Keats, and after him, of the Pre-Raphaelites, to approach and express. The men of the Middle Ages delighted in colour and design, in patiently illuminating with loud colours and thin lines their missal books —books which Morris spent so much money to collect, in

weaving fantastic figures on their tapestries by skilful manipulation of warp and woof, in covering the walls of their chapels and churches with fresco paintings with the spirit of patient, joyous faith. Scott and Coleridge did not approach this art-side, but Keats who belonged to the third period of the Romantic Movement, a time when Art was accepted as a word with a definite meaning, approached and understood it. As Prof. Herford says:—[1]

"A Romanticism in which Art was eyed askance, a form of artifice, gradually passes into a Romanticism in which Art and Nature are two related domains of nearly equal attraction. 'Nature I loved, and next to Nature, Art.' The change is marked by the gradual extension of Romantic sensibility, as the period advances, to painting, architecture and sculpture."

Again, Rossetti's purpose was, as Mr. Watts-Dunton says, "to reach through art the forgotten world of old romance."[2] Art was to Rossetti, as also to many other Pre-Raphaelites, a connecting link between their world and the world of romance.

In this place we can only quote a few examples without being able to do full justice to this topic. Keats in his *Eve of St. Agnes* and *Eve of St. Mark* especially tries to bring into relief this aspect of mediaeval life. Here are a few instances :

"A casement high and triple-arch'd there was
All garlanded with carven imageries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot-grass
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings;
And in the midst, 'mong thousand heraldries
And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of Queens and Kings."[3]

[1] The Age of Wordsworth, p. xx.
[2] Rossetti, Encyclopædia Britannica,
[3] The Eve of St. Agnes.

It is a dream in colour and design. No praise is too much for it. Scott describes the designs and patterns, but Keats penetrates into the very 'blush' of colour, the very life of the lines. This is an instance of panel work. We may quote an instance of mediaeval sculpture—

"The carved angels, ever eager-eyed,
Stared, where upon their head the cornice rests,
With hair blown back, and wings put cross-wise
on their breasts."[1]

Keats's delight in the beautiful mediaeval fabrics is instanced by—

A cloth of woven crimson, gold, and jet—[1]
The arras 'rich with horsemen, hawk and hound'[1] etc.

The quaint, illuminated book in Bertha's hand and the fluttering screen

'On which were many monsters seen
Call'd doves of Sima, Lima mice,
And legless birds of Paradise,
Macaw, and tender avidavat,
And silken-furr'd Angora cat'[2]

are other instances. This tendency to dwell fondly upon and reproduce the artistic productions of the Middle Ages is so evident in the Pre-Raphaelites that illustrations would be superfluous. From Christina Rossetti's triumphant

"Raise me a dais of silk and down;
Hang it with vair and purple dyes;
Carve it in doves and pomegranates,
And peacocks with a hundred eyes;
Work it in gold and silver grapes,
In leaves and silver fleurs-de-lys;"[3]

[1] The Eve of St. Agnes.
[2] The Eve of St. Mark: Keats.
[3] Birth-day: C. Rossetti.

to Rossetti's

> "The belt was silver, and the clasp of lozenged
> arm-bearings;
> A world of mirrored tints minute
> The rippling sunshine wrought into't,
> That flushed her hand and warmed her foot " [1]

it is everywhere evident. And this tendency goes well with their tendency to 'particularisation.'

This practice of approaching the Middle Ages through art distinguishes Keats as the progenitor of later mediaevalism.

The Southern Romance—Keats's direction.

But Keats did something more. He determined to a great extent what sort of material the new mediaevalism would deal with. Though Coleridge in his *Ancient Mariner* had limned the fascinating horrors and desolation of the South Seas, his material was usually the Northern Romances. Keats and Leigh Hunt turned to the South. The lure of the Southern skies was in their eyes, and the tales of southern passion and wonder they attempted. Keats wrote, in his sonnet, *Happy is England*—that he could be content with its verdures, its breezes that blow through its 'tall woods with high romance blent'—

> "Yet do I sometimes feel a languishment
> For skies Italian, and an inward groan
> To sit upon an Alp as on a throne,
> And half forget what world or worldling meant.
> Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters;
> Enough their simple loveliness for me,
> Enough their whitest arms in silence clinging,
> Yet do I often warmly burn to see
> Beauties of deeper glance, and hear them singing
> And float with them about the summer waters."

That was quite characteristic of him. With his rich sensuousness and strong emotional character, his 'Escapastic' motive

[1] The Bride's Prelude : Rossetti.

naturally led him to the South. To him the South constituted a dream world in itself. In a mood of numbness when he had not the stamina to face 'the agonies, the strife' of life, he wished—a magnificent wish it was—

"O for a draught of vintage, that hath been
Cool'd a long age in the deep-delved earth;
Tasting of Flora and the country-green,
Dance, and Provencal song, and Sun-burnt mirth;
O for a beaker full of the warm south,
Full of the true, the blushing Hippocrene." [1]

He could hardly rest content with the chill and fog of the North. This is very significant. Almost all the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters looked at the South through an atmosphere of sentiment. Christina Rossetti wrote—

"When our swallows fly back to the south,
To the sweet south, to the sweet south,
The tears come again into my eyes
In the old wise
And the sweet name to my mouth."

"'And the sweet name to my mouth." It was south again that gave them their inspiration. We know the history of the establishment of the Pre-Raphaelite School. With the exception of Morris in whose nature there was a strong Teutonic element, almost all the Pre-Raphaelite poets had always Southern Romance for their theme. Even when dealing with a Northern legend they exhibited a genuinely Southern temper, especially towards the emotional aspects of the story; they were prodigal of the appeals to passion and mystery, the reticent strength of the Northern stories gave them no great scope. Again, the Anglo-Catholic movement—'Romanticism seen through the stained glass window'—did much to bring them to mediaeval art and mediaeval Italy. Rossetti and Morris both revered Gothic art, the old

[1] Ode to a Nightingale.

religious painters and Catholicism. But the deliberate Pre-Raphaelite pact and the Anglo-Catholic Movement do not explain everything. Apart from the fact that Rossetti and Christina Rossetti had Italian blood in their veins, the influence went deeper in their case.

A division of topics.

We propose to institute a division of topics. For many reasons, and some of them we have already stated, Christina Rossetti stands somewhat apart from others. Morris's position too has something disconcerting about it. Swinburne's mediaevalism was not very much characteristic of him. So we propose to deal with some special features of the mediaevalism of Keats and Rossetti in two subsections, of Keats and Morris in one subsection. The affinities and differences between Keats and Swinburne will be discussed under 'Hellenism,' and we shall deal with the poems of C. Rossetti in references and side-lights. We are not, however, for sharp, all-exclusive divisions, and are for maintaining the organic character of the whole study.

I. *The South in Keats and Rossetti.*

The call of the south we have already spoken of. It was not the modern regenerate Italy of Swinburne's poems, nor the subtle-souled Renaissance Italy of Browning's monologues, that attracted them most. It was Italy of romantic passion, devotion and love that called out to them. We shall not, however, treat of all the aspects of this particular problem but indicate those aspects only by which Keats anticipated Rossetti and others.

Coleridge's position is somewhat interesting. His *Garden of Boccaccio*—written in heroic couplets, the management of which anticipates that of Keats and Morris—a tribute,

unexpected in Coleridge, to the charm of the irresponsible life of the Decameron—

"The brightness of thy world, O thou once free
And always fair, rare land of courtesy
O Florence ... ...
Fountains, where love lies listening to their falls,
Gardens, where flings the bridge its airy span
And Nature makes her happy home with man"

makes us pause. Coleridge is here in the central line of romantic poets. The next to follow is Keats, the author of Isabella. But this is only a side-issue. The influence of Boccaccio, though considerable on Keats, was nohow great upon the Pre-Raphaelite poets. What most interests us is the question of the Dantesque Revival.

The Dantesque Revival and Keats's contribution.

The fact that Keats was attracted by Dante in a manner that anticipates to some extent the attraction felt by Rossetti for the poet of the *Vita Nuova*, may not be accidental. It has, one may say, some psychological interest. It is interesting to find the name of Keats associated with the Dantesque Revival in its inception in England.

Keats read Dante in Cary's translation. There is a tribute to Dante in the opening of the fourth book of *Endymion*. The fifth book of Dante especially attracted him—especially the story of Paolo and Francesca, a story which Rossetti loved so much and illustrated, and which inspired later writers greatly. This attraction may be symptomatic of something morbid in Keats and Rossetti. Keats dreamed over the story and wrote a sonnet upon his dream, the sestet of which it has been said[1] "has more in it of Dante's essence than all the poems and dramas in which the story has been fingered to death." Rossetti thought this sonnet to be "by far the finest of Keats's sonnets, next to

[1] Elton.

that on Chapman's *Homer*." The subject-matter of the sonnet is this: the poet dreams and in dream his 'idle spright' flies away seeing the 'dragon world of all its hundred eyes' asleep (the inevitable characteristic of all escapistic dreams), not to 'Pure Ida.' nor 'Unto Tempe' (dream-worlds all),

'But to that second circle of sad Hell
Where 'mid the gust, the whirlwind, and the flow
Of rain and hailstones, lovers need not tell
Their sorrows. Pale were the sweet lips I saw,
Pale were the lips I kiss'd, and fair the form
I floated with, about that melancholy storm"

The passage just quoted typifies a particular aspect of Keats's temper—'pale were the sweet lips I saw,—Pale were the lips I kissed' bears analogy with the erotic pre-occupations of the later poets—Rossetti and Swinburne especially—and has an element of melancholy passionateness that is sensual and Italianate. "O that I could dream it every night!"—he exclaims.[1]

The influence of a passage in Dante's *Purgatorio* (Canto X) has been noticed in the lines beginning with 'the sculptur'd dead,' etc., in the *Eve of St. Agnes.* In the recast version of *Hyperion*, the influence of Cary's Dante is apparent, though the manner in which the vision is managed has not the distinctive symbolism and intensity of the conception of Dante.

The peculiarities of Rossetti.

But in Isabella we think the right Dantesque 'Italianate touch' is discernible in the delineation of passion and horror, though Keats does not possess the unshrinking fixity of purpose with which the early Renaissance Italian poets delineated passion and horror. Rossetti learnt this unshrinking fixity of purpose (*cf. Sister Helen, Eden Bower*) from them. The all-absorbing, strongly sensual quality of love in Isabella is peculiarly Italianate.

[1] Keats's Journal: Letter, 1818.

We find it in ample measure in Rossetti. But there is a difference too. Boccaccio was no favourite of Rossetti's—he had no sympathy for the typically Renaissance mood of unabashed curiosity and open-air irresponsible enjoyment that we find in the *Decameron*. But Keats, we may opine, had that impalpable grace, that lightness of touch in his disposition to appreciate these things, though in the treatment of *Isabella*, Keats gives vent to his less light and less healthy preoccupations. Again, Keats was not impelled by any vision of 'Beata Beatrix,' his aspirations chose a different system of symbols. But Rossetti learnt from 'Dante and his Circle' many new things, things all too important for his poetic growth;—he learnt his symbolism from them, a symbolism which is peculiarly mediaeval and Catholic—Rossetti had labelled his early manuscript poems, 'Poems of the Art Catholic;'—with a temperament tinctured with morbidness he sought 'the intense, the individual, the symbolic, the mystical,' and these qualities are supreme in Dante and his contemporaries. But what most influenced Rossetti was Dante's mystical passion for Beatrice as told in the *Vita Nuova*, and we shall deal with this topic in due course later on. The Italian spirit expressed itself in Rossetti in three ways: through the figure of the Divine woman, through a repressed paganism 'expressing itself in torturing hopes and fears,' and lastly, in Rossetti's resort to concrete hells and heavens.

Something of this we find in Christina Rossetti too. Her secular aspirations have a distinctive Italian note as she seeks the decoratively voluptuous; and her religious aspirations are half mystic and half voluptuous. Again, her conception of heaven resembled that of Rossetti—it is the concrete mediaeval heaven, not a metaphysical conception.

II. *Supernaturalism in Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites.*

We have discussed certain aspects of the mediaevalism of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. No such discussion,

however, is complete without some consideration of supernaturalism which is, as it were, the quintessence of the 'wonder' element that is the life and breath of all romanticism. The thrill of the unknown or the uncanny, half fascinating, half dreadful and its nameless spell, as in Coleridge's—

> 'Like one, that on a lonesome road
> Doth walk in fear and dread,
> And having once turned round walks on,
> And turns no more his head;
> Because he knows, a frightful fiend
> Doth close behind him tread'
>
> *Ancient Mariner*

forms the core of the romantic mood of 'wonder.' Coleridge was perhaps the greatest exponent of this 'wonder,' and after him comes Rossetti in whom the 'Resurrection of the Senses' culminated.

As a detailed treatment of the topic would be quite out of place, we shall simply state the broad results of our study.

Supernaturalism in Keats

Keats's position in this respect is peculiar. His imagination is plastic and pictorial; it is not of the 'weird and mystic cast' as Coleridge's. Keats resembles Coleridge in his 'fine sensuousness,' but in his poetry there are no 'dreamy semblances of things beyond sensation,' no half-lights and elusive suggestions. He states, he expresses, he carries his words to the last possibility of expression, but he does not like to suggest ordinarily. Hence the ghost in *Isabella* is felt as a familiar presence, it possesses the definiteness of reality—there is nothing eerie and elusive about it, the very literalness of description precludes the possibility of a shudder of horrors. It is familiar nature that is all around the dead body—

> "Red whortle-berries droop above my head,
> And a large flint-stone weighs upon my feet;

Around me beeches and chestnuts shed
Their leaves and prickly nuts, a sheep-fold bleat
Comes from beyond the river to my bed."

There is hardly any room for the thrill of unknown horror. Again in *Lamia*, the story of enchantment is narrated with all the insistent realism of detail. Perhaps in doing this Keats was only approaching the genuine mediaeval attitude, for the authentic thrill of the supernatural is a peculiarly modern thrill. The people in the Middle Ages felt the supernatural as a familiar presence in nature ; it was no disquieting intruder. No comparison is possible between Keats's *Lamia* whose transformations are graphically described and Coleridge's Geraldine who is left to our imagination as a 'motiveless malignity' presented with light, brief, rapid touches. Coleridge succeeds not by describing but by forbearing to describe. With a touch he opens up a spring of mystery and dimly descried horror. But we must not forget Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*—a poem on which many jewels of appreciative phraseology have been bestowed, like—" The union of infinite tenderness with a weird intensity, the conciseness and purity of the poetic form, the wild yet simple magic of the cadences, the perfect 'inevitable' union of sound and sense ;"[1] "a masterpiece of horror-stricken reticence and magical suggestion ;"[2] the absolutely penurious austerity of language ;'[3] etc. Indeed, this little master-piece conveys the very essence of romantic horror through a few well-chosen symbols. Rossetti thought it to be 'in manner the choicest and chastest of Keats's works ;' he praised it for the 'perfectness of touch' displayed here by Keats which he considers as 'making the highest point of Romantic imagination to which Keats attained in dealing with human or quasi-human personages.'

[1] Sidney Colvin.
[2] Herford.
[3] Ellershaw.

Supernaturalism in C. Rossetti, Morris and Rossetti.

Of the Pre-Raphaelite poets, Rossetti was the most sensitive to the lure of the supernatural. Christina Rossetti in her *Goblin Market* shows a half-fanciful, half-sensuous manner of representing the supernatural with, however, a distinctive, psychological veracity of touch. Swinburne made no remarkable contribution in this respect. Morris's treatment of the supernatural, especially in the Icelandic romances and sagas, was different from that of Coleridge and Rossetti for several things, *viz.*, a traditional background, well-known associations, stark reality and powers, etc., and has an affinity with Keats's treatment, as Morris too felt the supernatural as a familiar presence, though the uncanny atmosphere which he creates in the Hollow Land is a remarkable exception.

His obligations to Coleridge.

Rossetti, the greatest in the line, was most profoundly influenced by Coleridge. He learned from Coleridge, first of all, the reticent, suggestive manner of presentation as is illustrated by his *Sister Helen* and *Rose Mary*. He also learnt, what was more important, the method of presenting the supernatural not bluntly as a reality—but by slow accumulation of information, by discharging it fleck by fleck throughout an atmosphere that successfully kept doubts in check, and helped 'suspension of disbelief.' This is the most modern method which convinces by gradual conversion. Thirdly, he learnt from the 'subtle-souled psychologist' that art of extraordinary delicacy with which he painted the passion which the supernatural excited in an agent, as in the Mariner or Genevieve ('Love'). Coleridge's psychological method made an epoch in the poetry of the supernatural, and the subsequent writers were bound to tread in his footsteps in order to succeed in conveying the minute nuances of the thrill of

the unearthly through a highly sensitive medium, disarming the rational, sophisticated objections of modern mind, which can, in this process, keep itself somewhat detached and yet sympathise.

A conception which must have come to Coleridge through his perusal of the old world literature of magic and witchcraft, that of 'possession' defined as 'the domination of an innocent and unheeding mind by an idea discharged upon it from a superior will,' plays a dominant part in his *Christabel* and *The Three Groves*. Rossetti exploited this in some of his poems. The idea of destructive, malign power of magic he uses in *Rose Mary* and *Sister Helen*, while that of the ominous wraith or double, which hardly occurs in any other English poet, and which Rossetti undoubtedly learnt from the 'däppel ganger' stories of German romance,[1] he uses in the *King's Tragedy* to a terrific effect. It also occurs in his *Portrait* and in several other poems. He painted this theme in his *How They Met Themselves*. Rossetti had a curious interest in it.

Keats's influence upon Rossetti.

Keats perhaps influenced Rossetti in one important direction. In combining the erotic and the demonological as in the *Eden Bower* in which passion 'semi-animal semi-diabolical' is depicted, the obvious model would be Keats's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*. The *Lamia* conception treated by Keats reappears in Rossetti's *Siren* and *Lilith*. But Rossetti's affinities are here more with Coleridge than with Keats. His reverence for Coleridge in his later life was unbounded. Keats had just that element of sanity or just that lack of morbidness in his quest for exquisite sensuous thrills that precludes the possibility of the height of 'wonder.' But Rossetti was a man a degree more advanced in this respect, though compared with Keats he was

1 Of course we cannot be sure. Many old Scotch lays and ballads treat of this theme, and such a superstition was at one time common in Scotland.

limited in other ways. He had not Keats's abundant joy in nature. He had an almost unhealthy interest in the supernatural. He dabbled in spiritualism and it left him convinced of unknown realities. After some experiments many things combined to make it extremely repugnant to him to have any further contact with them. But poetry offered 'a safe expression of the mixture in his mind of superstition and mysticism.' He writes of 'that indefinable sense of rest and wonder which, when childhood is once gone, poetry alone can recall.' Rossetti peopled his dream-regions with creatures whom Keats would not have liked. The scarcely definable horror of the scene—

"In painting her I shrined her face
Mid mystic trees, where light falls in
Hardly at all; a covert place
Where you might think to find a din

Of doubtful talk, and a live flame
Wandering, and many a shape whose name
Not itself knoweth, and old dew
And your own footsteps meeting you;
And all things going as they came "[1]

was beyond Keats, beyond Coleridge even, though Keats could give us the thrill of—

" I saw their starved lips in the gloom
With horrid warning gaped wide "[2]

and Coleridge of—

" But soon with altered voice, said she—
Off, wandering mother ! peak and pine !
I have power to bid thee flee ! "[3]

Rossetti with his keen sensuousness desired a world of essences, of superlative realities. He sought to distil the

[1] Portraitism—Rossetti.
[2] La Belle Dame Sans Merci.
[3] Christabel.

forbidden thrill from the forbidden 'wonder,' to tread in the unholy circle, to satisfy his spiritual demands. He is the culminating point beyond which lies the region of mysticism or madness.

III. Keats and Morris—The Chaucer Tradition.

From the close, half-lit, dim spaces of Rossetti's dream-regions we come upon the broad, windswept, wholesome world of Morris's imagination—the world where the proud Argo sails on its voyage across the green sea, where Lancelot, riding on, sees—

" Between the trees a large moon, the wind lows
Not loud, but as a cow begins to low,
Wishing for strength to make the herdsman hear:
The ripe corn gathereth dew." [1]

The characteristics of Morris: resemblances to Keats.

It is all healthy, homely; there is no disquieting ripple of the uncanny among the trees. The reason is this. Morris did not reach his Wonderland through a process of strenuous, imaginative activity like Rossetti—Rossetti who sought to distil the essence of beauty, the essence of loveliness, the essence of the esoteric thrill through an intensity of perception. In this Morris resembled Keats ; Keats had the same buoyant, spontaneous approach, the same delight in profusion and wide-eyed, clean regard for beauty. Keats's line, ' The poetry of earth is never dead,' may well be written down as a motto to all the artistic creations of Morris. Both loved the earth, and this kept them ideal and romantic, and in their poetry, ' simple,' ' sensuous ' and ' passionate.' But in Keats there was an inner contradiction between his intellectual affirmations and his instinctive propensities, between the brain and the heart. Morris had this conflict in a very slight degree. Most often he transcends all conflicts—he is one with his Wonderland. In this lies the secret

[1] Morris, King Arthur's Tomb.

of his happy mood of activity. 'Escapism' was in him allied with the tranquil assurance of an idealism that believed in and sought to bring to the doors of men a perfection, the candid, child-like perception of which was the test—an all-satisfying test in his eye—of its existence. Mr. Yeats, for this reason, calls Morris 'the one perfectly happy and fortunate poet of modern times.'[1] A division there was in him too, and it comes out in two ways—in his tone of melancholy that is almost habitual and in his recognition of the failure of his socialist campaign, when, late in life, he came back to romance.

The many activities of Morris, what they signify.

We cannot, however, deal here at length with the many activities of Morris. His love of the Middle Ages was not a moment's passion but a life's ideal, in which he lived and moved and had his being. His deep knowledge of the Middle Ages, of the border ballads and tales, his aversion for Elizabethan literature and all Renaissance lore, the deep influence which Anglo-Catholicism exercised on him, his furnishing of the house at Red Lion Square with 'intensely mediaeval furniture' as Rossetti half humorously said, the establishment of the Morris Faulkner & Co. for the revival of the decorative arts, the establishment of the Antiscrape Society, his love of old churches and cathedrals, the publication of the Kelmscott Chaucer—these and many other things, one can go on recounting; but through it all we see one figure, the figure of the delighted, irresponsible child in armour who rode across the Thames country near Walthamstow, and who in his old age even could not distinguish between work and play, between delight and dream, and who believed that what he dreamt of as in his 'News from Nowhere' or 'A Dream of John Ball' would come to be true: "And, Sirs, if there is anything in the business of

[1] Yeats, Essays: The Happiest of Poets.

my life worth doing," says he,[1] "if I have any worthy aspiration, it is the hope that I may help to bring about the day when we shall be able to say, 'So it was once, so it is now."

The primitive saga-spirit in him.

There is another spirit in him—the primitive saga-spirit, epical, deeply-rooted in the love of the earth, roused to terrific power and grandeur by danger, revengeful, profoundly stirred by the terror and mystery of a vaguely known, shadowy fate,—a spirit which is almost antithetical to the romantic spirit of which Morris's master Chaucer who wrote 'Knight's Tale' is the exponent. It may also be noted that Morris's Icelandic studies coincide with his withdrawal from the circle and the gradual lessening of Rossetti's influence over him. But romance was all along with him, and in his later days he turned to the glad region of early romantic dreams. We are concerned with this Morris, who acknowledged Chaucer as his master.

Morris's discipleship to Chaucer; similarities and differences.

Again and again did Morris acknowledge his discipleship to Chaucer.[2] His Earthly Paradise is constructed on the model of the Canterbury Tales. The scope of the Earthly Paradise is almost as wide as Chaucer's; that is, if we leave out some of the best things of Chaucer, his sly jests, delectable fabliaux and portraits from life. That is all too obvious. Morris had not the 'great earthy humour' of Chaucer, no gift or taste for characterisation. He was engaged in weaving long, enjoyable yarns with extremely tenuous lines keeping always to a low scale of values. In the 'Jason' and tales of the Earthly Paradise he not only uses some Chaucerian measures, but has also caught the very cadence of the Chaucerian verse, and faint, delightful

[1] Morris's Art and the Beauty of the Earth, a lecture delivered at Burslem Town Hall on October 13, 1881.

[2] *E. g.*, ll. 5-24, Bk. XVII, Jason; the envoi to the Earthly Paradise, etc.

touch of the Chaucerian flavour of archaic diction is everywhere found. The scene of the poems in the Earthly Paradise is laid in the age of Chaucer. In the opening lines of the Prologue, he tells us :

> "Forget six counties overhung with smoke,
> Forget the snorting steam and piston stroke,
> Forget the spreading of the hideous town;
> Think rather of the pack-horse on the down,
> And dream of London, small, and white, and clean,
> The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green;
> Think, that below bridge the green lapping waves
> Smite some few keels that bear Levantine staves,
> Cut from the yew wood on the burnt-up hill,
> And pointed jars that Greek hands toiled to fill,
> And treasured scanty spice from some far sea,
> Florence gold cloth, and Ypres napery,
> And cloth of Bruges, and hogsheads of Guienne;
> While nigh the thronged wharf Geoffrey Chaucer's pen
> Moves over bills of lading—mid such times
> Shall dwell the hollow puppets of my rhymes."

That was his ideal world, where he found a perfection which he did not find in the nineteenth century England. Morris's method of work is a very delightful topic and it would take much space to point out the Chaucerian turns and lilt of his verses, the narrative manner which he borrows from Chaucer, how far he approaches the spirit of Chaucer, of the 'Knight's Tale,' of 'Troilus and Criseyde' and the Legend. We shall point out a few things only. Chaucer's influence was immense in the handling of love-interest which never in Chaucer or Morris overpowers the other interests of the story which keeps straight on, in the leisurely 'flower-like unfolding of emotions and events,' a point which Lowell notes, in the use of costume and variegation, in the practice of re-telling old stories, hazily idealising past events (though Chaucer always used the corrective of humour, he too had this tendency to idealise), seeking to give each story a unity of impression, cleverly dodging

all digressions (it is delightful to observe how Chaucer humourously shirks digressions whenever he thinks it necessary, though he was not shy of digressions) without laying any final emphasis on any one incident or feeling, and lastly, in the manner of romanticising all classical fables (a typically mediaeval practice). But we must remember that Morris understood by mediaevalism not only Chaucer and the Border Ballads but also Beowulf and the Elder Edda.[1] This catholicity of interest places Morris in a unique position.

Keats as a 'Chaucerian.'

But what most interests us here is to observe how far Keats anticipated and influenced Morris in his narrative manner, how far Keats himself was a Chaucerian.

Keats in his earlier poems and Morris in his romance exhibited a temper of workmanship that resembles the temper of Chaucer, Chaucer of the Troilus or Knight's Tale. Keats in his Sonnet on 'The flowre and the lefe' shows his appreciation of Chaucerian simplicity, freshness, sweetness—his artistic poise.

> "This pleasant tale is like a little copse:
> The honied lines so freshly interlace,
> To keep the reader in so sweet a place
> So that he here and there full-hearted stops."

A dreamy romanticism.

Perhaps a more graceful commentary on the tender beauty of Chaucer's early verse has not been written. In these lines breathes a temper that is singularly Chaucerian—that is to say, Chaucerian in a restricted sense. It is the temper of the artist, the lover of beauty who does not seek to encounter the unpleasing factors beyond his own art-region but is content with his own, who prefers 'Juliet leaning amid her window-bowers,'

[1] Mackail, Vol. II, p. 204.

'the silver flow of Hero's tears,' 'the swoon of Imogen,' 'Fair Pastorella in the bandit's den,' to the feats of Alexander and Ulysses,[1] who strives to build a shadowy isle of bliss midst the 'beating of the steely sea' whose ravening monster mighty men may slay but not the poet who is but an 'idle singer of an empty day.'[2] Indeed in this very delightful, half-assumed self-distrust and humility there is something characteristically Chaucerian. This romanticism is not intense, it is dreamily vague. It resembles the romanticism of Spenser and that of John Masefield, who too has been profoundly influenced by Chaucer.

In which other respects Keats anticipates Morris: The Eve of St. Mark.

But there are some other things to be taken notice of. Keats anticipates Morris not only by this Chaucerian aspect of his temper but also by certain other aspects of his poetry. Specially remarkable is Keats's 'Eve of St. Mark' fragment. This fragment recalls Chaucer by its rain-washed clarity of atmosphere, its purity of imagery,[3] its 'real and achieved harmony between beauty and playfulness,' its use of the octosyllabic verse after the model of Chaucer, and its curious attempts at reproducing Chaucer's actual style and vocabulary after the true Chattertonian fashion. But this fragment has other interests too. Its influence on the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters was immense. Tennyson's 'St. Agnes' Eve' and some drawings of Millais were directly inspired by this piece. It anticipates Rossetti's 'Ave' and many of his early pictures like the Girlhood of Mary by its pure, half-mystic expectancy, and note of brooding pre-occupation and its virginal atmosphere. Bertha anticipates the very attitude of Rossetti's Mary. The

1 Endymion, Bk. II.

2 The Earthly Paradise, An Apology.

3 *Cf.* 'I think it will give you the sensation of walking about an old country town on a coolish evening,'—Keats.

outdoor atmosphere of the poem is depicted in the manner of Morris, and the very tones and cadence of the verse recalls Morris's 'Man Born to be the King,' 'Land East of the Sun' and other tales in the same measure. Again, the irresponsible attitude of Morris, the curious artistic pleasure which he derives in conscious anachronisms, in bringing together facts of distant times and places which result in a 'romantic' shock or sensation, Morris's aesthetic delight in the manipulation of materials, delight in beautiful fabrics, jewels, precious metals, curious patterns, out of which we can weave tapestry-like effects, all these have been anticipated by Keats here. The even tone of the narrative, in which there are no whirlpools and breakwaters, no stress on particular details, is also very remarkable. The tenuity of the lines in the Eve of St. Mark, unlike the heavy, jewelled richness of Keats's romantic poems, is remarkably in the manner of Morris.

Not only here but also elsewhere Keats anticipates Morris's temper and methods. Keats's use of the heroic couplets in the Lamia in the manner of Dryden foreshadows Morris's use of it in some tales of 'the Earthly Paradise' and 'Jason,' though Morris loves to smooth down to edges of structure and lessen its weight. The outdoor atmosphere of a leisurely, tranquil, humming activity in the 'Eve of St. Mark' we find reproduced in 'Lamia.'

"As men talk in a dream, so Corinth all,
Throughout her palaces imperial,
And all her populous streets and temples lewd,
Mutter'd, like tempest in the distant brew'd,
To the wide-spreaded night above her towers.
Men, women, rich and poor, in the cool hours,
Shuffled their sandals o'er the pavement white,
Companion'd or alone; while many a light
Flared, here and there, from wealthy festivals,
And threw their moving shadows on the walls,
Or found them cluster'd in the corniced shade
Of some arch'd temple door, or dusky colonnade,"

a passage which remarkably presages the movement of parts of the 'Jason' and 'Earthly Paradise'—it takes us to a leisurely region of the past through a thin atmosphere of dreamy unreality. A passage like this makes us pause with a beating heart; it reveals in a flash how Keats had a manner of looking at things and of reproducing them so much like Morris!

IV. *Hellenism in Keats and Swinburne.*

Hellenism was, as we have stated, a type of 'Escapistic' activity with Keats and Swinburne and the Hellenic world was a recent discovery of the romantic spirit. We have not here space enough to treat of the works of all the nineteenth century poets conceived in this Hellenic temper. We have to concentrate on Keats and Swinburne, as other Pre-Raphaelite poets had little of this beautiful temper.

Rossetti knew no Greek. He loved the Odyssey more than the Iliad, because of its romantic appeal, and of all the Greek poets he loved Homer only.[1] William Morris loathed all classical art and literature.[2] He treated all classical fables in the Chaucerian manner. Alone of the greater Pre-Raphaelite poets Swinburne was a great Greek scholar, and he appreciated and expressed certain aspects of the Greek mind with remarkable success. He revived many Greek literary forms, essayed Greek drama, and, what is more important, found in the free, primitive, amoral pagan delight in the beauties of nature a fulfilment of his escapistic longings.

And in this he resembles Keats, though, when critically viewed, his differences with Keats grow apparent. Let us however look at the problem from a wider standpoint.

Nature and the Pre-Raphaelites.

We should, first of all, try to understand the Pre-Raphaelite attitude towards Nature. We are not here concerned with the

[1] Henry A. Beers, A History of English Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century, p. 299.
[2] Mackail, Vol. II, p. 171.

'Huntian' fidelity in depicting nature, a Pre-Raphaelite trait in painting in its earlier phase. For one thing, these poets resembled Keats in the absence of all pantheistic didactic bias in their attitude towards nature. That is very remarkable. They all sought to enjoy the objective, tactile beauties of nature without probing deeply for any lurking idea or soul or teaching. This genuine artistic attitude brings them together. But Keats had an intuitive familiarity with the lively activities in nature, a spontaneous delight in them, a power of recovering through intimate contact, a thrill of life from the forms and masses, imputing motives to them as in—

> " Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
> Close bosom-friend of the maturing Sun ;
> Conspiring with him how to load and bless
> With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run ;
> To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
> And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core," [1]

a power of embodying them into shapes, half human, half natural, of restful beauty,[2] a power that we call 'Hellenistic,' and this power no Pre-Raphaelite except Swinburne (with certain very important limitations) possessed in any degree, though Landor had it and Tennyson made some excellent uses of it.

Using Nature for decorative purposes—Keats's anticipation of the Pre-Raphaelite practice.

But it would be hasty to suppose that Keats did not anticipate the Pre-Raphaelites in their practice of using nature for decorative purposes. Keats's curious love of colour, not so much the colour of the landscape or the sky as the colour of jewels and tapestries [3] and illuminated books and dress [4] and fruits and rich dark wood in panelled rooms, connects him, as we have already

[1] Ode to Autumn.
[2] Second stanza.
[3] *Cf.* The Eve of St. Agnes, Lamia, etc.
[4] *Cf.* The Eve of St. Mark.

shown, with the Pre-Raphaelites. But there is another factor we have to take into consideration. At times we get in Keats "a curious, lonely, perfumed and forlorn loveliness which is brought up to the edge of the cloying, but does not pass over it."[1] For instance, some portions of the 'Ode to a Nightingale' or even 'Ode to Psyche' may be cited. This kind of specialization of appeal through a well-worked, isolated distinctness of the natural atmosphere by a system of cleverly devised suggestions and colours and rich music, this very preciosity and conventionalisation, is distinctly Pre-Raphaelite.[2] It is found even in so healthy an artist as Morris.[3] Christina Rossetti escapes it a great deal by virtue of her love of a studied simplicity and grace as also due to the fact that her perceptions have an element of spontaneity and her sense of form is unfailing. But it is found, most of all, and very characteristically, in Rossetti. The broad, free sweep of the landscape and sky we no longer find—in later poems we find Rossetti to be the poet of 'Wan waters and failing light,' in his poem,

> " the gold air and the silver fade
> And the last bird fly into the last light "[4]

In 'The Staff and Scrip' we are told of the queen that

> " through the room
> The sweetness sickened her
> Of musk and myrrh."

From the same poem we quote another stanza to illustrate Rossetti's decorative use of natural images:

> " Her eyes were like the wave within;
> Like water-reeds the poise
> Of her soft body, dainty thin;
> And like the water's noise
> Her plaintive voice."

[1] Stopford Brooke, Essay on Keats.
[2] *Cf.* Rossetti's Bride's Prelude.
[3] *Cf.* Morris's *Rapunzel.*
[4] The Hill Summit—Sonnet.

Besides this, we should also note that the symbolic intention is hardly ever absent from Rossetti's nature-poetry.

Morris's nature, though broad and breezy, is not variegated, but strangely limited. In his poetry the green sea tumbles and the yellow corn waves so often that one is tempted to fix them up as conventions, though nobody would deny their freshness.

Keats's Hellenism compared and contrasted with Swinburne's.

Though Keats knew this curious method of nature-representation—a method which in a certain stage of artistic activity becomes quite natural, as in Rossetti—it was not his habitual method. Keats sought in the far-off loveliness of Greece what he did not find in his age. 'Glory and loveliness have pass'd away'—he mourns ;[1] there are no 'crowds of nymphs soft-voiced, young and gay,' going to adorn the 'shrine of Flora in her early May;' but, even if now 'Pan is no longer felt' under 'pleasant trees,' the poet can feel at times 'a free, a leafy luxury'—a spontaneous delight in nature. 'He was a Greek,' said Shelley. He had indeed the mythopoeic faculty of the Greek mind and a fresh, spontaneous approach to the sunny aspects of nature. This we find in Swinburne too—a response to the blithe activities of nature,

> "And frosts are slain and flowers begotten,
> And in green underwood and cover,
> Blossom by blossom the spring begins"[2]

But it would not do to put Keats and Swinburne in the same category. We are not talking of Swinburne's erudite classicism. The real distinction does not lie in the style itself. Keats had

[1] Dedicatory Sonnet to Leigh Hunt.
[2] Chorus, Atalanta in Calydon.

indeed an instinctive sense of plastic arrangement, a Greek trait, side by side with the Elizabethan 'fine excess' shown occasionally, as in his 'Ode to Autumn' (2nd stanza), which Swinburne had not; Swinburne was, as we know, notorious for his lack of outline—a point of interest which will be elaborated later on. Again, we are not talking of the sources of their respective inspiration, the Elizabethan, the classics which Keats read in translations and Swinburne in the original. Melted down to the essentials Swinburne is a pagan, and Keats a Hellene, a Hellene who does not usually seek like the 'Classic Landor' to clothe his feelings and impressions in a strenuous classical mould, who has a far more gentle and sunny intuition and clean and calm regard for beauty than the primitive, irresponsible pagan who discovers a principle of free enjoyment in life and nature, and delights to depict things in their orgistic moods. In this latter trait Swinburne approached an infrequent, though not inessential, aspect of Greek life, an aspect which found expression in rare moments of Bacchanalian orgies and the like, though there is this large measure of agreement between the Hellene and the pagan that they are both amoral, each in his own way. Keats in his 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' and 'Ode to Psyche' reconstructs with an aesthetic delight the lovely order of Greek life, its rich rituals and daily beauty, but Swinburne in 'Atalanta' and elsewhere seizes upon the crises, the dynamic moments of outburst. The difference, to put it more clinchingly, is the difference between 'Ode to Autumn' and the 'Hymn to Proserpine.' Swinburne's paganism has the disquiet quality of a challenge, while Keats's Hellenism has the calm assurance of complete realisation. "He chose," says Thomas of Swinburne,[1] "above all, poetry that was in some way adventurous, aspiring even to giddiness, free and yet exquisite: whence he could never fully admire Spenser or Keats, Byron or Whitman." His greatest admiration was for Marlowe, Shelley, Hugo, Landor, and their like.

[1] Thomas, 'Swinburne, A Study,' p. 40

But it is highly interesting to find that Keats too had his pagan, orgistic moments, moments when he, and not Shelley, stands out as the right predecessor of Swinburne, a point which has not, to our knowledge, been noticed by anybody. Like Swinburne's Nympholept he too recovers the 'mingled delight of the primitive experience,' 'the dumb fierce mood,' that once made men imagine such tumultuous divinities as Pan and Bacchus. We find traces of this mood in Keats's 'Hymn to Pan,' 'a pretty piece of paganism' as Wordsworth deprecatingly called it, and in a great degree in his 'Song of the Indian Maiden.' But it is all too rare in him. Swinburne found in his orgistic moods, in his nympholepsies, a free expression of the innermost tumults and cravings of his soul, of which Keats, who had more sanity of temper and a gentler intuition, touched only the fringe. In both the cases, the 'resurrection of the senses and their self-expression working under the law of beauty' is at work, but how differently!

Beauty and Love.

We have treated of certain dream-regions and certain dream-motives and from our treatment of the problem the idea may gain ground that 'Escapism' is a highly negative kind of activity, that in shirking a full contact with reality it becomes mainly negative in import. It is not however our view that 'Escapism' has a really positive basis. It is positive in so far as the 'Escapists,' even in their flight, were actively engaged in shaping the traditional materials anew in the light of an emotional necessity, in so far as this 'Escapistic' activity provided for the imaginative satisfaction of their desires. But 'Escapism' too has its affirmations. Here, we are going to show that these Escapists too had their affirmations, a positive aspect in their cult—not constructive indeed when critically examined—for, whenever confronted by a problem, did they

The positive side of 'Escapism'—its affirmations—Beauty and Love.

not answer in the name of 'Beauty' or 'Love,' or in the name of a vaguely understood 'Truth'?

Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets were distinguished by their singular devotion to beauty. Beauty possessed Circean charms for them, beauty allied with love, and their best songs were reserved for the praise of these eternal twins. But it was not beauty as a metaphysical conception that they worshipped. This beauty had nothing in common with the platonic 'Intellectual Beauty' of Shelley which is "an ecstacy attained after an ascent of the giddy stairway, which leads from sensuous experience to pure contemplation and the clue to which is given by a transcendental refinement of Love." To them beauty was always concrete and mostly external, it was an apotheosis of the sensuous. Spenser, with his sensuous appreciation of beauty, moral and physical, his pictorial art, and insistent pathos at the passing away of beauty—the tone of submission to the law of decay—was, in more ways than one, an influence to many of them.

Beauty worshipped not as a metaphysical conception—Spenser's influence.

No doubt many notable attempts have been made to give a metaphysical cast to some of Keats's highly realistic utterances, and again, to hold up as Keats's final attitude what was only put down by Keats in stray letters and was never carried into practice. Of course we cannot dismiss these attempts easily. From his utterances it is clear that he found in the worship of beauty a stay for his unquiet soul. 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever'—he says. Things of beauty like the sun, the moon, 'trees old and young,' daffodils, clear rills, the 'mid-forest brake,' the great tragic stories—these 'glories infinite'—[1]

Some interesting utterances of Keats discussed.

"Haunt us till they become a cheering light
Unto our souls, and bound to us so fast,
That, whether there be shine, or gloom o'ercast
They alway must be with us, or we die."

[1] Endymion, Bk. I.

And all this will happen—

> "Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
> Of noble natures, of the gloomy days,
> Of all the unhealthy and o'erdarkened ways
> Made for our searching: "...................

This faith in the redemptive, life-giving, sanative power of the things of beauty in a world full of confusion and woe, is characteristically 'Escapistic.' But from this Keats rose to a higher conception of beauty when he wrote—"Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic of his own work."[1] This self-centred absorption in beauty which makes him totally oblivious of what others may say is what we expect of a great and genuine artist. Keats's attitude is identical with that of William Morris. Keats again writes—"I feel assured that I should write for the mere yearning fondness I have for the beautiful, even if my night's labours should be burnt every morning, and no eye ever rest upon them." The poetical counterpart to this immortal utterance is the 'Ode to Maia.' Keats's conception of beauty was widened when he sought to distil a soul of beauty through an intensity of imaginative apprehension from the sufferings and sorrows of human life. He was no voluptuary, but it was his gift of 'fine sensuousness' and experiencing nature—things we have already referred to—that made him eminently successful, in moments of intense artistic activity, to recover a soul of beauty from the sad aspects of human life, striking off in the process gems of

[1] Keats did not, by 'beauty in the abstract,' mean 'Abstract or Ideal or Intellectual Beauty.' Taking the expression with its context we can interpret it as 'beauty as an all-exclusive, artistic ideal,' beauty which has nothing to do with the claims, the 'praise or blame' of the external world. This ideal or beauty, or perfection, makes Keats, as he says, 'a severe critic of his own work.' Keats at times uses 'the Principle of Beauty' and such metaphysical terms without however any metaphysical intention. The influence of Wordsworthian terminology was great not only upon Keats but also upon many other poets who openly denounced Wordsworth.

quiveringly beautiful expression, which embody Keats's absolute intuition of the futility of human life—

"The weariness, the fever, and the fret
Here, where men sit and hear each other groan;
Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies;
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despairs,
Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow."

Keats's preoccupation with sufferings and sorrows need not be hastily interpreted as 'humanistic.' We have already shown how this fatal preoccupation had its basis in a deep spiritual conflict, a conflict which was very natural to men of Keats's type; we have also shown how the great emotional factor, pain, would be very early 'sensed' by men of Keats's type. Every preoccupation with pain and suffering is not 'humanistic.' For, how then are we to interpret Rossetti's preoccupation or Swinburne's melancholy? We should think twice before we venture to saddle Keats's highly artistic activities with a 'humanistic' purpose. Indeed, as soon as Keats takes up the conscious 'humanistic' attitude—a thing which he often does, he could not for a long time forego the duality in his nature—Keats fails as an artist, as in the Revised Version of the Hyperion. 'Truth is Beauty,' he says, but it is Truth in so far as it can be perceived, sensed, as a harmonious artistic experience. Abstract 'Truth' when he sought to express it in art, was not 'Beauty.' "What the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth,"[1] he says. In that sense 'King Lear' has truth, as Shakespeare's imagination has been able to 'express' the pain and suffering of the story, in the right artistic sense.[2]

With this attitude of Keats we compare that of the Pre-Raphaelite poets. From their utterances and works, we can easily

[1] Letter, 22nd Nov., 1817, addressed to Benjamin Bailey.
[2] Letter to his brothers, 22nd Dec., 1817.

deduce their singular absorption in beauty, and discover a family likeness in their respective attitude towards it, though Rossetti mysticized his aspirations, Morris romanticized them, Christina Rossetti spiritualised her aspirations, and Swinburne, with his challenging 'Satanism,' sang pæans and burnt incense before his lady of sin, Dolores.

Rossetti's attitude.

Rossetti commences a prose sketch for a poem with the words, "Men tell me that sleep has many dreams; but all my life I have dreamt one dream alone." This is a directly personal statement, and it applies, like all that Rossetti in his youth had said of the artist Chiaro,[1] to his case. Commenting on this passage, Mr. Sharp says,[2] ' Veritably all his life Rossetti dreamt one dream. He was from the days of his boyhood onward haunted by the vision of Beauty; the love of Beauty became a passion; this passion became his very being." This ' beauty' he praised in a sonnet[3] which embodies the choicest aspirations of his poetic heart, a sonnet which can be written down as the motto of all works conceived in the Pre-Raphaelite spirit—

" Under the arch of life, where love and death,
Terror and mystery, guard her shrine, I saw
Beauty enthroned; and though her gaze struck awe,
I drew it in as simply as my breath."

This half mystic and half sensuous reverence for beauty, this symbolic method of representation, Rossetti learns from his master Dante ; the conception of ' Beata Beatrix ' he raised to the power of a living symbol, a perpetual inspirational source. Around the shrine of ' Beauty,' there is terror and mystery, love and death. But to the dreamer with his occult vision it is all natural, everything forms a part of a harmonious design—

" Hers are the eyes, which over and beneath
The sky and sea bend on thee,—which can draw,

1 Rossetti, Hand and Soul.
2 Sharp, Essay on Rossetti.
3 Soul's Beauty.

By sea or sky or woman, to one law
The allotted bondman of her palm and wreath."

'Sky' or 'Sea' or 'Woman'—says Rossetti, but it is not perhaps an accurate statement in so far as it applies to his case. The appeal seldom came to Rossetti through nature, the 'Lady Beauty' seldom beckoned to him from the lap of the fresh, fruitful, ever-active nature. It would be true of Keats, and it would be true of Swinburne and Morris, to a great extent. But to Rossetti, beauty in woman serves as a constant symbol of the ideal beauty, the 'worship of collective womanhood' informs his poetry and painting, from the 'Blessed Damozel' and the 'Girlhood of Mary' onwards. 'The allotted bondman of her palm and wreath'—how true of Rossetti, Swinburne and Morris, who were no ascetic abnegators, but ardent devotees of the red-lipped, white-bosomed goddess—"The white implacable Aphrodite"—

" This is the Lady Beauty in whose praise
Thy voice and hand shake still,—long known to thee
By flying hair and fluttering hem, the.........
Following her daily of thy heart and feet
How passionately and irretrievably,
In what fond flight how many ways and days"

with this may well be compared the speech of the youth in Swinburne's 'Pilgrimage of Pleasure'—

"We have gone by many lands, and many glorious ways
And yet have not found this pleasure all these days
Sometimes a lightning all about her have we seen,
A glittering of her garments among the fields green;
Sometimes the waving of her hair that is right sweet,
A lifting of her eyelids, or a shining of her feet,
Or either in sleeping or in walking have we heard
A rustling of raiment or a whispering of a word,
Or a noise of pleasant water running over a waste place
Yet have I not beheld her, nor known her very face."

How real was the lure of the baffling figure of 'Lady Beauty'—who is also the Lady Love of their dreams, to them! She is the 'Pleasure' of all pleasures. It is to be admitted that their conception of beauty was more limited, less catholic than Keats's conception. The Pre-Raphaelites, especially Rossetti and Swinburne, gave their conception the sacramental sanctity of an esoteric cult while Morris's deep love of the beauties of the earth kept him passionate, wholesome and sane.

Swinburne and Morris.

Along with their absolute glorification of beauty goes their absolute glorification of love. Morris's 'Love is enough,' Rossetti's 'House of Life' sonnets, Swinburne's magnificent chant—'Love, that is first and last of all things made'—may be cited as instances

Glorification of love.

In which respect does this conception and treatment of love and beauty resemble that of Keats? The resemblance with Keats is seen, we think, in two ways, *viz.*, in the manner in which beauty is associated with the passion of love, and in the temperamental 'fleshliness," a term which needs some explaining, of these poets.

Resemblance with Keats in two ways :

We do not exactly think of Keats, as we think of Shelley, as a poet of love; very few of his lyrics are indeed inspired by the passion of love, though many of his narratives—'Endymion,' 'Lamia,' 'Isabella,' 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci,' treat of love as a central motive. Keats treats of love as an actuality in stories, not, like Shelley, as an ethereal aspiration in lyrics. That is the great difference. Through the involved aspirations for the ideal and the thickly-veiled allegory of the 'Endymion,' very little of genuine passion can be felt, though a temperamental sensuality is betrayed at times in the expression. Only in the 'Eve of St. Agnes' is love treated as a saving, glorifying passion, and in the trembling

(1) in the manner in which beauty is associated with love and,

mysterious anticipation and expectedness of the maiden and the ardent devotion and purity of purpose of the lover, Keats foreshadows the spirit of some Pre-Raphaelite love romances and lyrics. The lovers are treated as having no existence outside the singular passion of love. This southern quality of absorbing passionateness is not to be found greatly in Morris, whose nature was more northern, more reticent, though in his 'Sigurd' he treats the passion in its stark cruelty and frenzied aspects, in the authentic saga-mood. The 'Eve of St. Agnes' apart, all the other poems of Keats are unhappy. In 'Isabella' love is tragic in ending and almost cloying in expression, though the poem offers us some choicest descants on the great power of the passion—

> "Love! thou art leading me from wintry cold,
> Lady! thou leadest me to summer clime"—

to be followed by some 'too dulcet, too cloying' touches of sensual fancy. Again—

> "The ancient harps have said,
> Love never dies, but lives, immortal Lord:
> If Love impersonate was ever dead," etc.

In 'Lamia' there is no love but a spell, cast out, we are told, by 'cold philosophy.' The depiction of the passionate hours of Lamia and Lycius is voluptuous, weak and incompetent; Keats is always irritatingly disquiet with passionate themes. That is a weakness. In 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci' Keats depicts the wasting power of Love, a thing forecasted in 'Lamia,' the infatuation of a blind passion which wrings out the last drop of joy, crushes all hopes and leaves a terror-struck, spell-bound memory behind. The 'Faery Child' is none other than the Lady Venus of Venusburg of mediaeval legend, and none can outlive her spell. This type of erotic motive was treated by Rossetti and Swinburne many times and contrasts well with Morris's redeeming 'Love is Enough.' The combination of the

erotic and the demonological, the cruel, life-sapping overpowering attraction and the bitter moments of remorseful recollections, form the life and body of many poems of Swinburne and Rossetti:

" A little space her glance is still and coy ;
But if she give the fruit that works her spell,
These eyes shall flame as for her phrygian boy,
Then shall her bird's strained throat the woe foretell,
And her far seas moan as a single shell
And her grove glow with love-lit fires of Troy:" [1]

This is Venus. Swinburne composed in her honour his 'Laus Veneris' and many hectic odes and songs besides. Honour to her, the relentless infatuating deity, honour to her favours that bring ruin and destruction in their wake. Swinburne's famous comment on Rossetti's picture of Lilith we have already quoted— "faultless fleshly beauty and peril of pleasure unavoidable." Here is Rossetti's poetic version of the same theme—

" The rose and poppy are her flowers ; for where
Is he not found, O Lilith, whom shed scent
And soft-shed kisses and soft sleep shall snare ?
Lo ! as that Youth's eyes burned at thine, so went
Thy spell through him, and left his straight neck bent
And round his heart one strangling golden hair." [2]

The same theme reappears in the 'Card-Dealer'—

" Her fingers let them softly through,
 Smooth polished silent things ;
And each one as it falls reflects
 In swift light-shadowings
Blood-red and purple, green and blue,
 The great eyes of her rings."

This cold, cruel beauty of the precious stones in her rings is potent with a magic lure—

" Whom plays she with ? With thee, who lov'st
Those gems upon her hand ;

1 Venus, A sonnet.

2 Lilith, A sonnet.

With me, who search her secret bowers ;
With all men, blessed or banned
We play together, she and we,
Within a vain strange land.

... ...

What be her cards, you ask ? Even this ;—
The heart, that doth but crave
More, having fed ; the diamond,
Skilled to make base seem brave ;
The club, for smiting in the dark ;
The spade, to dig a grave.

... ...

Thou seest the card that falls, she knows
The card that followeth :
Her game in thy tongue is called Life
As ebbs thy daily breath
When she shall speak, thou'lt learn her tongue
And know she calls it Death."

The idea that Death conquers all asserts itself in moments of self-distrust and despair ; it is found in Keats, Morris, Swinburne, and the Rossettis—nobody is proof against it. Their great affirmations could hardly stand up against death. Only Christina Rossetti transcended death when she had a glimpse of the 'Life Everlasting." Rossetti symbolically expresses it in—

"There came an image in Life's retinue
That had Love's wings and bore his gonfalon :

... ...

But a veiled woman followed, and she caught
The banner round its staff, to furl and cling,—
Then plucked a feather from the bearer's wing,
And held it to his lips that stirred it not
And said to me 'Behold there is no breath :
I and this Love are one, and I am Death.' "

—Death in Love.

Swinburne's hymns and poems in praise of the cruel sweet goddess are innumerable and 'Laus Veneris' is the opening

chord of the grand orchestra—

"Ah, not as they, but as the souls that were
Slain in the old time, having found her fair ;
Who, sleeping with her lips upon their eyes,
Heard sudden serpents hiss across her hair.

... ...

Her gateways smoke with fume of flowers and fires,
With loves burnt out and unassuaged desires ;
Between her lips the steam of them is sweet,
The languor in her ears of many lyres.

Her beds are full of perfume and sad sound
Her doors are made with music, and barred round
With sighing and with laughter and with tears,
With tears whereby strong souls of men are bound." [1]

(2) in a temperamental 'fleshliness.'

In the illustrations given above, the 'fleshliness' is evident. Buchanan's strictures in his article 'The Fleshly School of Poetry' are too well-known. They recall the attack of the Quarterly on Keats, and they produced a disastrous effect on Rossetti's mind though Keats was not 'snuffed out by an article' as Byron would have it. Buchanan tried to establish that Rossetti and his friends had 'bound themselves to a solemn league and covenant to extol fleshliness as the distant and supreme end of poetic and pictorial art ; to aver that poetic expression is greater than poetic thought, and, by inference, that the body is greater than the soul and sound superior to sense.' Part of this criticism is singularly wide of the mark—Buchanan's impatience with the minute technical perfection of the Pre-Raphaelites is the measure of his lack of understanding of Pre-Raphaelite art. He advances mainly two charges—(1) 'that as a man he (Rossetti) had a coarse and shallow attitude towards sex, in which he regarded the physical pleasures of union as more important than

[1] Mr. Watts-Dunton thinks that here we find the idea that was at the core of the 'old romanticism,' 'the idea of the evil forces of nature assailing man through his sense of beauty.'

the emotions aroused,' a charge which does much injustice to the writer of the 'House of Life,' and (2) 'that, as an artist he had broken through the wholesome reticence of civilisation in expressing his attitude,' a charge which is true, and which is really a glory of the writer of the 'House of Life.' For sincere expression of erotic feelings, unclogged by rigid censorings and inhibitions, through images which are no disguises, Rossetti has no equal in English literature. But part of Buchanan's charge hit home the Pre-Raphaelites, for all their mystic and romantic aspirations, were more or less 'fleshly.' Love meant intensely to them, it winged their desires with an aspiring impulse—they accomplished their highest flight through it, reaching the Mystic Tree and the Dove ; but it was mainly an earthly passion, and the heaven it flies to, is a concrete heaven with a parapet of gold bars. There is symbolism enough, symbolism for the subtleties, the lonely thrills of esoteric emotion, but again, we must say, the basis was of the earth, earthy. Rossetti in his reply[1] contends that in his sonnets, "all the passionate and just delights of the body are declared— somewhat figuratively it is true, but unmistakably—to be naught if not ennobled by the concurrence of the soul at all times." This is a frank confession. Nobody would deny the 'concurrence of the soul,' nobody would say 'nay' to Rossetti's—

> "Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor
> Thee from myself, neither our love from God." [2]

This fusion of the spirit and the flesh—a typically Italian trait—though traces of it may be found in Donne and his tribe—could be hardly appreciated by the prim and priggish mid-Victorians. In the hand of the great artist this fusion is almost complete. 'The House of Life' sonnets are a great success. But in many poems the fleshliness breaks through, as

[1] The Stealthy School of Criticism.
[2] The House of Life.

in 'Nuptial Sleep,' 'Eden Bower,' etc. In Swinburne the success is infrequent, in the more violent early pieces of Morris the weakness is all too evident. In Keats, as we have already seen, this weakness is apparent. It would be a needless cruelty to quote from his letters to Fanny Brawne, even Swinburne of Dolores and Faustine criticised them in most violent terms.[1] Indeed, the biographies of all these men are distressing reading. But here we touch a topic that is outside our scope. From the purely aesthetic standpoint, it is sufficient to note that the strong sensuousness and emotional ardour of the great artists were not counterbalanced by any rigorous self-restraint and moral discipline—things which make for great calm art. In their treatment of beauty and love they exhibited their characteristic strength and weakness, allowing us to see their temperamental cravings in their undress.

This treatment of beauty and love is somewhat one-sided, but it is just as much as is necessary for the purpose of this study. Christina Rossetti has been purposely left out inspite of the sensuous beauty of her secular poems. Her aspirations, resembling as they do the Pre-Raphaelite sentiments in having a mediaeval cast, differ from theirs a great deal, and she has no temperamental sensualness. In her poetry, 'Turtle calleth unto Turtle in heaven's May.'......

Now we have discussed the affirmations of these Escapists. Were they all-sufficing, were they all-sustaining? We easily answer, 'No.' The conspiracy, as we know, failed. But there was another affirmation, mysticism, an affirmation which has not been properly noticed.

V. Mysticism and Symbolism.

The 'Renascence of Wonder' reaches its culmination in Rossetti; beyond this height of romanticism there is the region

[1] "......... a manful kind of man or even a manly sort of boy, in his love-making or in his suffering, will not howl and snivel after such a lamentable fashion."—Swinburne.

of mysticism, many glimpses of which we find in poems and pictures. Was this another dream-region where there is no shadow turning and the weary are at rest? The mystic note we find of all these romantic poets only in Rossetti, not in Swinburne, though he glorifies materialism, or man and his doing, with a right Pindaric rage;[1] not in Morris, nor in Christina Rossetti, who was no mystic in the right sense of the term;—her aspirations clothed themselves in a lovely symbolism that is quiet, clear and traditional. Again, we find no trace of mysticism in Keats, though Spurgeon would argue to the contrary,[2] but some highly thought-provoking statements.

The interest of the study of mysticism—the region beyond.

What then is the interest of this study of mysticism? It shows us—as we have said—the region beyond, the region which the avenue of the Renascence of Wonder would finally reach, the region where all the persistent negations and contradictions that encumber the romantic approach are finally flung off, the world of reality is denied altogether its pride of place, and the soul finds a stay in an entirely satisfying, sustaining, final affirmation. Did Rossetti reach this region once for all?

Rossetti's failure.

Again, we are confronted by the tragic futility of Rossetti's life and character and have to answer in the negative. A true mystic worshipping beauty can surrender himself to his ideal fully in him. 'Nor soul helps flesh more nor flesh helps soul,' there is no division, no regret, no consideration for the long-accepted affirmations of the world. His is a joyous, satisfying experience. But this is not the case with Rossetti. As has been said by a great critic: "The pre-occupation with death and remorse for lost life which makes yet heavier the resonant gloom of this great sonnet sequence (*i.e.*, House of Life) is the reflection of the poet's mystical

[1] Hymn of Man, Hertha, etc.

[2] Spurgeon, Mysticism.

failure." Why should there be any misgiving? Why should he cling to his 'One Hope' in the end ?

Interest from the point of view of expression.

Rossetti was not, then, a true mystic. But the mystic strain was inherent in him. It invests many of his poems with a subtle, devious beauty. Its chief interest is from the point of view of expression, in so far as this mystic strain could be externalised by a complex and beautiful symbolistic art.

Rossetti as a love-mystic.

Rossetti was no religious mystic—religion was never a great motive force of his art. He pursued his ideal, Love, like Dante, to the highest reaches of mystery and grandeur. From his master Dante he got the figure of Beatrice, gradually transfigured and idealised by depth of thought into the type of heavenly love. It was this 'one face' that looks out from his Girlhood of Mary, his Ecce Homo Domini, Beata Beatrix and other pictures, as also from all of his love poems, 'A Nameless Girl,' 'A Saint,' 'An Angel ' as Christina Rossetti calls her. This Beatrice-worship is always with him. In his 'Dantis Tenebrae,' a sonnet written to the memory of his father, he writes—

" And didst thou know indeed, when at the font,
Together with thy name thou gav'st me his,
That also on thy son must Beatrice
Decline her eyes according to her wont,
Accepting me to be of those that haunt
The vale of magical dark mysteries
Where to the hills her poet's foot-track lies
And wisdom's living fountain to his chaunt
Trembles in Music ?"

This ideal passion led him on to that 'steep land'

" Where he that holds his journey stands at gaze
Tow'rd sunset, when the clouds like a new height
Seem piled to climb."

There is humility as in Dante, meek submission to the ideal love, a perfect sincerity of feeling. In the aspiring quality of the passion, in the half-grotesque materialising of abstractions, in the mingling of the sensual with the divine, and frank, delighted response to the mysterious, associational beauty of the distinctly mediaeval ritualism and sacrament, this mysticism is more or less traditional. Rossetti mingles with it an earthly note of remorseful regret; the memory of his tragic love for Elizabeth Siddal, for whose suicide he held himself responsible to a great extent, is frequently asserting itself in his mystic passion. The sonnets of the 'House of Life' series, his poem 'Portrait,' show this duality of purpose with a tortured, convulsive beauty of expression. It was ideal love indeed, but when the lover, the famished pilgrim, will reach the holy shrine, whose face will he find there? Whom does he want to be reunited with in heaven? What is his 'One Hope'?

"Ah! when the wan soul in the golden air
Between the scriptured petals softly blown
Peers breathless for the gift of grace unknown,
Ah! let none other written spell soe'er
But only the one Hope's one name be there,—
Not less, nor more, but even that word alone."

Here the mystic fails, the man asserts himself in all his human weakness. Though the adoration of the ideal woman was the expression of a deep need of his soul he could not follow Dante into his maturity of power, he had not Dante's intensity of conception and absorbing concentration. The romantic longing, flighty purpose, the romantic note of vague despair assert themselves frequently—

"O love, my love! if I no more should see
Thyself, nor on the earth the shadow of thee,
Nor image of thine eyes in any spring,—
How then should sound upon Life's darkening slope
The ground-whirl of the perished leaves of Hope,
The wind of Death's imperishable wing?" [1]

[1] Lovesight.

It is magnificent, but it is magnificent despair. Rossetti had indeed what Pater calls[1] a sustained impressibility towards the mysterious conditions of human life , and the central mystery of all mysteries was love, and love failed him.

Rossetti's symbolism.

What Pater calls Rossetti's 'poetic anthropomorphism,' was a necessity with him, 'his intense aspirations did not find sufficient expression in the homely familiar word-textures, but sought a system of beautifully devised symbols of deep meaning. Here the 'resurrection of the senses' reaches its culmination, now the sense-impressions are transcending the limits of probability. But Rossetti had enough traditional material to build upon, the palm and the wreath, the lily, the star, the aureole and the dove of mediaeval mysteries ; and the spark of life was in them and profound esoteric meaning. In this he differs from Blake, the mystic poet-painter, the "first Pre-Raphaelite," as he has been loosely called,[2] the most original poet of England, a ' Systematic Symbolist ' as Mr. Yeats calls him,[3] distinguished from all fragmentary symbolists like Rossetti, though Rossetti was profoundly influenced by Blake.

Rossetti and Blake.

Rossetti's interest in Blake was curious. Though usually regarded as a precursor of the Romantic Movement, Blake had practically no influence upon English literature before 1860 when, through the efforts of Gilchrist, Rossetti and other enthusiasts among whom Swinburne was one, his greatness was established in the literary world. Keats, we are told,[4] does not seem to have taken much interest in the great visionary artist and poet, since he never mentions him in his letters. So Blake was a discovery of the Pre-Raphaelites and it was quite in the nature of things, as we have shown, that Blake should have his due from men of their temper.

[1] Essay on Rossetti.
[2] Holmes.
[3] Essay on ' Symbolism in Painting.'
[4] Erlande, Keats, p. 94.

Rossetti as a painter was no doubt attracted and influenced by the mixture of 'a subtle and exquisite reality' and 'ideal grandeur' of Blake's pictures, and the mystic beauty of Blake's esoteric lyrical poems would be recognised by him, though he left out many as 'incomprehensible.' He understood his spiritual kinship with Blake, Blake, who in his own words,[1] 'offers them (*i.e.*, the readers) the new strange fruits grown for himself in far-off gardens where he dwelt alone, or pours for them the wines which he has learned to love in lands where they never travelled.' Again, he 'would specially direct attention to the exquisite beauty of the female figures. Nothing proves more thoroughly how free was the spiritualism of Blake's art from any ascetic tinge. These women are given to us no less noble in body than in soul, large-eyed, large-armed also; such as a man may love with all his life.' These passages need no commenting—the kinship with Rossetti is easily established.

But Blake with his tremendous, disturbingly original creative urge, had to build up a whole universe of his own thought-forms and mythology. The result is grotesque, Titanic, things which Rossetti was too much of an artist, and too deeply steeped in traditional symbolism, to resort to.

We have treated of the different modes of escape of these great 'Escapists,' *viz.*, Mediaevalism, Hellenism, cult of Beauty and Love, Mysticism and the different dream-worlds which these ways of escape led to. The verdict that our study suggests so far is—Magnificent failure.........

All the avenues possible were tried by the lovers of beauty, the different avenues led to different dress-worlds of beauty, but nowhere could the 'Pleasure of all pleasures' be found! They did not attain to any calm region of tranquil realisation, they 'loitered at the gate,' they were so uncertain, so full of doubts. In their endeavour to attain the unattainable they produced glorious designs and patterns, but the absolute 'Image'

[1] Gilchrist's edition of Blake's Poems.

they could not express. Perhaps the world of reality that they left behind, could give them the right clue, as it gave the right clue to Shakespeare, to Goethe. The ethics of this failure is all too apparent.

III. Art-affinities.

We are now in the third part of our studies. In the second part, we have discussed the thought-affinities between Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, and now we are in a position to devote some attention to the no less interesting topic of art-affinities. Once the spiritual basis of similarity has been established, it is but natural that from the technical point of view, too, some affinities would be discovered.

A. Some Preliminary Considerations.

Keats as an artist—his technical perfection: influence on the formal side.

'Wordsworth,' says Lowell, 'has influenced most the ideas of succeeding poets; Keats their forms.' Again, Downer remarks—"A later school of poetry of which Lord Tennyson is the leader and chief example, owes its exquisite cultivation of form to the art of Keats." Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelite poets were greatly influenced by Keats, because they all desired technical perfection as a deep artistic necessity. Cultivation of form was their guiding principle in poetic expression. Among the romantic poets, none save Keats showed any great desire to perfect the instruments of expression, to make the style flawless, to stress the musical value of each word, to make every image, clear and firm and vivid, to load every rift with ore, because among a host of singers and prophets—zealous singers and zealous prophets—Keats was the only artist. He did not want to surrender his very being to the tumult of an elemental impulse as Shelley does in his 'Ode to West Wind,' he sought to control his impulses to 'count the innumerable pulsations on the wings of imagination,' to rest amidst the creations, to give to his images a firmness of texture and contour, a warmth of

colour, a depth, a reposeful beauty—qualities which remind us irresistibly of painting and sculpture. When Wordsworth regrets our being out of tune with Nature, or Byron invokes Liberty, 'The Eternal Spirit of the Chainless Mind,' or Shelley pants with the desire of the moth for the star, Keats actualizes his sense-impressions, crystallizes his feelings, creates his world of beauty—the artist's world, with self-centered poise, leaving all extraneous motives out— 'rich in the simple worship of a day.' That is Keats at his best. This aesthetic standpoint of artistic exclusiveness and perfection was taken up by the young Tennyson and the Pre-Raphaelite poets.

Poets like Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron and Landor are distinguished by 'a certain directness, clarity and strength, which give us large, rapid impression.' This 'large, rapid impression' results from their largeness and rapidity of perception, the strength and ardour and freedom of their feelings which do not seek to clothe themselves in a curious, minute beauty and perfection of form as to embrace and die in the 'large and charitable air.' But in poets like Keats, Tennyson, Rossetti, Christina Rossetti and Swinburne there is the tendency to dally with language, to pause and taste it, to hunt for felicities, 'to be strange and arresting and curious.' In Keats and the early Tennyson this tendency works in a fresh and seemingly spontaneous manner; in the Pre-Raphaelite poets an element of conscious artistry is noticeable, and specially in Rossetti we find a preference for close, indoor scenes to the fresh outer air, and a tortured beauty of expression, and in Morris and Swinburne, a preference for a conventionalised system of diction and a recurring order of images. This tendency we find in Christina Rossetti too, but her artistic instinct succeeds in holding it in check. This, we already indicated, is the way of degeneration. The latter school will really give preference to form over spirit, as Buchanan wrongly charges the Pre-Raphaelite poets with.

We have said that Keats as a poet belonged to a group of artists to which painters and sculptors belong. So too did

Rossetti. Of Tennyson and Christina Rossetti the same thing with some restrictions may be said. Shelley and Swinburne belonged to a different class, the class of poets who sing and do not paint. Swinburne, while he belonged to the group by certain qualities of his art, noticeable especially in the Pre-Raphaelite phase of his career, differed from the group in his challenging Shelleyan aspirations, as also, it is supposed, in the full singing quality of his verse. But this latter point we are not ready totally to concede. Anyway, Swinburne outgrew his Pre-Raphaelite phase; that we must always remember; on the art side, he presents in some respects a study in contrast, though in some other respects, some of which we have already mentioned, he has bonds of affinity.

One fundamental feature of the technique of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets—one art overlaps into the province of another.

It need not sound as a paradox if we say that Swinburne's artistic standpoint was the same as that of Keats and other Pre-Raphaelite poets who, inspired by Keats, sought to approach the beauty and wonder of the Middle Ages through Art. Their technical activity was based on a deep and intelligent recognition of the affinities and inter-relationships between the different arts, especially between Poetry, Painting, Sculpture and the Decorative Arts. They looked upon poetry as an art among several arts, not as a mode of holding converse with the infinite, not even as the highest art.

Keats.

Keats's standpoint was similar. His enthusiasm for the Elgin Marbles, his close study of the statuary and bas-reliefs of ancient Greece, his intuitive understanding of the motive of sculptural expression, as also his delight in and acquaintance with many masterpieces of colour in the National Gallery, were not things of mere superfluous, aesthetic interest. Keats tcok the sense of these arts into him, it mingled inextricably with his poetic activity, his genius really belonged to the order of sculptors and painters.

Rossetti.

Again, Rossetti who was first a painter and then

a poet, who once remarked—"If any man has poetry in him he should paint, for it has all been said and written, and they have scarcely begun to paint it," wrote poems for his pictures, and drew pictures for his poems, and sought to harmonise the ideals of the two arts. Morris's interest in painting was great, but his interest in the decorative arts, especially in tapestry-weaving, was the greatest. The Morris, Faulkner & Co., revived the art of tapestry-weaving and Morris sought to give by the arrangement of colours and details in his poems the impression of the space and texture of tapestry.

Morris

But to what art did Swinburne seek to harmonise his poetry, from what art did he derive his technical methods? It was the art of music. The revival of Church Music was a feature of the general revival of the arts of the Middle Ages. But it was not the Church Music that exercised any influence upon Swinburne. Indeed, he had no special ear for music apart from the music of verse; but he knew how to cross the border-line between verse and song; he composed numerous 'Studies in Song,' and the singing quality is never absent from his verse. This is a point to be noted, no matter how different may be the ideals of music, the 'art of movement,' from painting and sculpture, the 'arts of repose.' This deeper affinity we should lay our finger on, this background of monochrome we must keep our eyes on, though the foreground may have prominent contrasts, and sharp differences of colour.

Swinburne.

The preliminary treatment has given us some idea of the formal aspects of the poetry of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Before we take up the particulars herein indicated we shall treat of some general characteristics of their poetry. The minute rhythmic and dictional features of their poetry we shall not treat of, but shall direct our attention to the more interesting and novel topics.

B. Some Characteristic Features of the Poetry of Keats and of the Pre-Raphaelites.

Keats's ' concreteness of imagery' is, we have said, one of the distinguishing features of his poetry. Though in his early poems colours run and the outlines are blurred, he with his ' fine sensuousness,' his pictorial and plastic kind of poetic genius, rapidly got over these faults. Not being a poet of the essentially singing order, he could crystallize his sense-impressions with a degree of patience into brilliant, restful images, images " that would tarry the painter's brush or the sculptor's chisel." In ' the Endymion ' there is too much luxuriance and overgrowth of superfluous and incidental beauty, a veritable riot of fancy. Here Keats puts himself in the line of poets, beginning with Spenser and coming down to Morris, Morris who had the Spenserian ease and luxuriance and Spenserian sensuousness. But in his Odes, in his Hyperion, in some of his sonnets, he lays his colours with a firm hand, draws his outlines strictly, and with a sure instinct for plastic arrangement, eliminates what is superfluous and preserves the essential core of beauty with marvellous success :—

Keats's ' concreteness of imagery.'

" In some melodious plot
Of beechen green, and shadows numberless,
Singest of summer in full-throated ease."

The image is complete, it has the sumptuous fullness and ease of summer, it leaves no sting behind to set the mind disquietly at work.

Keats has the gift of condensation—and this appears very early ; he can, as in Endymion, Book II, with unerring skill, pack into a few lines the spirit and glamour of an entire scene or the results of a long period of study and observation :—

Gift of condensation.

" The woes of Troy, tower smothering o'er their blaze,
Stiff-holden shields, far-piercing spears, keen blades,

Struggling, and blood, and shrieks—"

" Old ocean rolls a lengthened wave to the shore,
Down whose green back the short-liv'd foam, all hoar,
Bursts gradual, with a wayward indolence."

In the 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci' and the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn,' this gift of condensation is carried to its extreme application, absolute economy of utterance being the result; each word appears as but a fiery point against a dimly discerned background of terror or mystery, throwing flickering, uncanny light on what it momentarily reveals—

" O what can ail thee, knight-at-arms,
Alone and palely loitering?
The sedge is withered from the lake
And no birds sing."

" What men or gods are these?-what maidens loath?,
What mad pursuit? what struggle to escape?
What pipes and timbrels? what wild ecstasy? "

We are to turn to Rossetti for similar success, to his 'Sister Helen' and 'Eden Bower' and the like.

But we must take notice of those instances where Keats's vision soars beyond the horizon of the known world and reaches the lonely beauty in the lonely land—

" Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when sick for home
She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
The same that oft-times hath
Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

The very soul of romance breathes into these lines and makes them animated. The following passage from Keats's last sonnet is an instance of his farness of vision—

" Bright star! would I were steadfast as thou art—
Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,

And watching, with eternal lids apart,
Like Nature's patient sleepless Eremite,
The moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,
Or gazing on the new soft fallen mask
Of snow upon the mountains and moors."

It recalls Rossetti's

" Beneath, the tides of day and night
With flame and darkness ridge
The void, as low as where this earth
Spins like a fretful midge."

" the curled moon
Was like a little feather
Fluttering far down the gulf [1]

Rossetti's imagery.

The same immensity of vision is there, but in Keats's case it is more restful and fresh while the shorter measures of Rossetti are charged with a restless feeling.

In the early poems of Rossetti the images are made of clear colours and firm outline. Gradually he develops a highly intricate manner where the difficult texture of his images is symptomatic of his intricate intellectual activity as in his ' House of Life ' sonnet series, in ' Love's Nocturne ' and ' Stream's Secret.' In the ' Blessed Damozel ' the souls are like thin flames and heaven has golden bars. And though this early simple manner Rossetti did not keep to, his ' Rose Mary ' and other maturer pieces are full of clear, arresting images.

Rossetti and Keats, like Tennyson, sought, we have said, the arresting, the strange, among images. They sought to give to their images the elaborate design of pictures. They took a sort of delight in fingering bright images and arranging them according to artistic patterns. This exercise of a decorative

[1] The Blessed Damozel.

instinct gave them satisfaction. They liked inlaying, they liked to dress 'rosy sanctuaries,'

> "With the wreathed trellis of a working brain
> With buds and bells, and stars without a name." [1]

Morris's peculiarities.

This is unlike Morris. Morris's decorative instinct was of a different order. Morris's images carry the story forward. They are cool and fresh, they have subdued colours—grey, pale green, rarely gold, and white—and they sink into the framework of the tale with no protest. He is sensuous without being plastic, his art is the art of weaving a broad pattern into the warp and woof of a spacious fabric, not that of minute inlaying with steady patience, not painting with the characteristic Pre-Raphaelite firmness of detail. So Morris's images never fix in the memory. This is his characteristic manner, though in his early poems, when he was very much under the influence of Rossetti, Morris indulged in splashing colours and prominent details. Here is a passage from his 'Jason,' Bk. VII :—

> "But when all hushed and still the palace grew
> She put her gold robes off, and on her drew
> A dusky gown, and with a wallet small
> And cutting wood-knife girt herself withal,
> And from her dainty chamber softly passed
> Through stairs and corridors, until at last
> She came down to a gilded watergate,
> Which with a golden key she opened straight,
> And swiftly stept into a little boat,
> And pushing off from shore, began to float
> Adown the stream, and with her tender hands
> And half-bared arms, the wonder of all lands,
> Rowed strongly through the starlit gusty night
> As though she knew the watery way aright."

In this passage, 'gold' occurs twice, otherwise colours are almost dun, no image is prominent but every image accompanies

[1] Ode to Psyche.

a movement. Morris does not linger over the details of the dress of Medea or her beauty ; we may be sure Keats or Rossetti would not have missed such a fine opportunity.

Lack of outline in Swinburne.

Swinburne, again, is, as we have suggested, a singer, and not an artist of the type of Keats or Rossetti. He is notorious for his lack of outline and this is just what we expect of him ; he has concrete, brilliant, highly sensuous details, but they are tossed with an energy by the undulating strength of his verse, so that they get little opportunity to coalesce and combine into a whole. Only in his early poetry when the influence of Rossetti was great we find elaborate arresting imagery. But in his maturer work very little of it is found. In the noise and roar and rush of music, the outlines grow blurred and indistinct, he delights in no ' palace of painting ' but in the ' revel of rhymes.' [1]

C. Rossetti's imagery.

Christina Rossetti, the most infallible artist, with her sure instinct for form and clearness of perception, could create images which are at once concrete, sensuous, firmly built and yet fresh and beautiful—

" A perfect sunlight
On the rustling forest tips,
Or a perfect moonlight
Upon a rippling stream"[2]

or

" All her corn-fields rippled in the sunshine.
All her lovely vines, sweets-laden, bowed." [3]

This is perfectly Keatsean in its plentiful freshness. Lastly, Christina Rossetti too, like her brother, dreamt of a concrete heaven of concrete dazzling delights—

" I saw the Gate called Beautiful,
And looked, but scarce could look within;

Dedicatory sonnet to Burne-Jones.

Dream-love.

3 The German-French Campaign, 1870-1871.

I saw the golden streets begin,
And outskirts of the glassy pool.
Oh harps, oh crowns of plenteous stars,
Oh green palm branches many-leaved—
Eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard,
Nor heart conceived." [1]

Much has already been said about the quality of 'fine sensuousness' of these poets. Here we shall mention certain peculiar features of their poetry which were due remotely or obviously to this factor.

The quality of 'fine sensuousness'—some of its applications.

In the first place, this factor, more than anything else, enabled Keats to strike at what Swinburne calls 'absolute expression of absolute beauty.' Rossetti, Christina Rossetti, Swinburne, Morris, each in his own sphere, puts it to fine uses ; this keeps their poetry warm and real. Though a large element of dream enters into all their artistic motives, their perceptions are very seldom 'embroider'd with dim dreams.' [2] They perceived beauty and mastered the laws of its expression with marvellous clearness : and that at their best.

But the exercise of this very fine gift brings in its train certain rather curious things. With their passionate sensuousness, these poets would be at times in search of strong excitants like loud colour, wine, strong music, sensual aspects of womanly beauty, and voluptuous enjoyments. Of this voluptuousness something is to be found even in Christina Rossetti. In her ' Goblin Market ' she deals with many voluptuous details and depicts some voluptuous moments with rare psychological insight. In many places [3] Keats speaks of wine with the high relish of a voluptuary, and like Swinburne, exhibits, as in the ' Song of the Indian

[1] Paradise.
[2] Ode on Indolence.
[3] *E. g.*, Ll. 168, Bk. III, Endymion ; l. 211, Bk. II, Lamia ; second stanza, Ode to a Nightingale, etc.

Maiden,' the right Bacchanalian rage. Again from Keats's :—

> "His plump white arms and shoulders, enough white
> For Venus' pearly bite"

to many other places of his poetry or that of the Pre-Raphaelites a strong sensual instinct may be detected at work. It is not our purpose to lay stress upon these blemishes. Rossetti in spite of all his romantic and mystic sublimation and Swinburne with his frank paganism and Satanism and many other challenging '-isms,' and Morris with the characteristic moody violence of his early temper, are full of such blemishes ; Morris, of course, very much less than the others. That must be admitted, though we must remain grateful to them for what they have achieved in spite of these occasional lapses into not-immoral but inartistic excesses. From the 'warm'd jewels' and 'fragrant bodice' of Keats to the

> "Until her bosom must have made
> The bar she leaned on warm"

of Rossetti this very sensuousness—free from all touches of the sensual—is an inestimable poetic asset. Lines like Keats's—

> "Mid hush'd, cool-rooted flowers, fragrant-eyed,
> Blue, silver-white, and budded Tyrian," [1]

where so many senses are almost simultaneously and harmoniously at work, to the sincerity and warm truth of Rossetti's 'Love-letter'—

> "Fain had I watched her when, at some fond thought,
> Her bosom to the writing closelier pressed,
> And her breast's secret peered into her breast,"

these poets make the best of this great gift. It is needless to pile instances. A study of the poems of Swinburne and Morris —from the point of view of sensuous expression—equally pays.

[1] Ode to Psyche.

About these artists there was no temperamental shyness about what Rossetti called—" The passionate and just delights of the body." The result is not—we have shown—always reassuring. Keats and Swinburne are at times greatly at fault. But in their moments of success their sensuous art is inimitable and quite matchless as in Swinburne's perfect representation of a tender gesture of bodily endearment—a well-known instance—

" Then it may be, seeing how sweet she is,
That she will stoop none otherwise
Than a blown vine branch doth
And kiss thee with soft laughter on thine eyes,
Ballad, and on thy mouth " [1]

or in the marvellous accumulations of Keats which produce such an effect of intensity or reality of presentation—

" the sophist's eye,
Like a sharp spear, went through her utterly,
Keen cruel, perceant, stinging: " [2]

" And then, towards me, like a very maid,
Came blushing, waning, willing and afraid" [3]

or in the hard relentless metallic effect in Rossetti's—

" Oh the wind is sad in the iron chill,
Sister Helen.
And weary sad they look by the hill," [4]

or

" Upon the desolate verge of light
Yearned loud the iron-bosomed sea " [5]

We have spoken of their liking for stimulants. Side by side with this liking for stimulants there is the opposite pole of attraction, that of the narcotics, and Keats usually treats wine as such. Among the narcotics most praised are sleep, dream, death,

A Ballad of Life. [2] Lamia. [3] Endymion, Bk. I.
[4] Sister Helen. [5] Portrait.

which is, in Keats's pessimistic phrase, 'life's high meed.' Swinburne is always hankering for sleep and death and oblivion. Even Christina Rossetti shows an unhealthy attraction for them, only Morris is frankly afraid of death. This attraction for narcotics has no metaphysics, but an obvious sensational basis ; it is in the nature of a reaction. We find it in Shelley too.

There is another aspect of this quality of sensuousness which must not go unnoticed. Writing of Keats, William Rossetti mentions his two great qualities, 'capacity for enjoyment' and 'luxury of grief.' His 'capacity for enjoyment' we are now fairly acquainted with, and we have already treated at some length of the sensational basis of the melancholy of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. They sought to squeeze out of grief choicest thrills of pleasure—grief inspired some of their best utterances. At times there is a distinctly voluptuous exaltation under the pressure of grief, a very wanton abandon to bright images and ringing music as of one distracted or ecstatic. This we find in Christina Rossetti's 'A Peal of Bells'—

> "Strike the bells wantonly,
> Tinkle, tinkle well;
> Bring me wine, bring me flowers,
> Ring the silver bell.
>
> All my lamps burn scented oil,
> Hung on laden orange-trees,
> Whose shadowed foliage is the foil
> To golden lamps and oranges.
>
> Heap my golden plates with fruit,
> Golden fruit, fresh-plucked and ripe ;
> Strike the bells and breathe the pipe ;
> Shut out showers from summer hours—
> —Silence that complaining lute—
> Shut out thinking, shut out pain,
> From hours that cannot come again."

Such instances of 'Luxury of Grief' are no rarity in other

poets. They courted the very pangs of grief with elaborate ceremoniousness.

'Realism' and 'Simplicity.'

The talk of the 'Realism' and 'Simplicity' of Pre-Raphaelite art has had its day. We have already disposed of the fallacy of 'Realism.' Of 'Simplicity' it may be said—what we have already shown—that it was only Christina Rossetti who kept to the early programme of being 'simple' and 'natural.' The early verses of Rossetti are full of simple diction and simple, clear colours. But the simple diction of Rossetti had but a 'thrice-winnowed' simplicity—the use of file is all too frequent. In his mature manner Rossetti, with his difficult latinisms, his Keatsean compounds, his intricately-built patterns, and the half-suffocating diction of some poems, is, if anything, not 'simple,' and Rossetti does not try to be 'simple.' Swinburne too is not 'simple,' he is recklessly ornate and wasteful. Morris with his scrupulous Teutonisms, his slightly archaic diction, is studiously simple, not effortlessly so. And Keats is not, of course, simple. Indeed, Keats and Rossetti and their tribe want to be strange and arresting and attractive. When trying to imitate the simplicity and naïveté of the folk-ballad, they have to make visible efforts. What has been said of Rossetti is true of most of them—in many of their poems there is a 'heavy sweetness as of lily or of orchid' which either 'delights or cloys.'

Keats's management of colour and detail anticipates Pre-Raphaelite practice.

Lastly, we have to say something about Keats's management of colour and detail in so far as it bears an affinity with that of the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Keats with his sensuous temper was naturally inclined to sumptuous colouring and detail. The celebrated description of the Casement in the 'Eve of St. Agnes' has already been quoted. From the same poem we quote another passage—

"Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,

As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon;
Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,
And on her hair a glory, like a saint."

There is a perceptible colour-rhythm in

" The lustrous salvers in the moonlight gleam ;
Broad golden fringe upon the carpet lies:" etc.

No comment can bring out what is there in these passages —it is all there. These passages recall Keats's readings in Spenser, the great colourist in English poetry. Keats's early 'Imitation of Spenser' is a superb piece of colour, without being of firm texture. Keats resembles the Pre-Raphaelites in the sheer delight which he takes in the mere laying on of colours and strewing of details, he loves them for no other purpose than for their very 'sacramental sake.' This purposeless delight in bright colours and bright details we find in Keats's—

" And the violets white
Sit in the silver light,
And the green buds are long in the spike-end " [1]

This missal-like clarity and purity of colour and distinctness of detail is singularly a Pre-Raphaelite trait. We find it at its best in Rossetti's 'Blessed Damozel,' in Swinburne's—

" Knights gather, riding sharp for cold; I know
The ways and woods are strangled with the snow ;
And the short song the maidens spin and sit
Until Christ's birthnight, lily-like, arow." [2]

a decorative use of detail there is of a distinctly mediaeval character. The manner is freer in—

" Green leaves of thy labour, white flowers of thy thought,
And red fruits of thy death " [3]

[1] Written in Devonshire. [2] Laus Veneris. [3] Hertha.

Christina Rossetti's use of fresh, simple colour and detail is worth noting :

"By her head lilies and rosebuds grow;
The lilies droop, will the rosebuds blow?
The silver slim lilies hang the head low;
Their stream is scanty, their sunshine rare;
* * * *
Red and white poppies grow at her feet,
The blood-red wait for sweet summer heat,
Wrapped in bud-coats, hairy and neat." [1]

Morris had the child's love of beautiful detail and colour with all the child's want of logic, though usually he is no lover of loud colours. Here is an exception,

"I took my armour off,
Put on king's robes of gold,
Over her kirtle green
The golden fell fold on fold " [2]

or the magnificent line true in its buoyant, youthful want of logic

"Two red roses across the moon" [3]

or

"O, russet brown and scarlet bright,
When the Sword went out to sea,
My sisters wore; I wore but white:
Red, brown, and white, are three..."[4]

This element of heedless delight brings about certain very curious use of detail. Swinburne has a practice of unfolding the "Jewelled calendar of months, and of their several heroines" as in the beginning of the 'Tristram of Lyonesse' and elsewhere. There is in this practice something of the delighted spirit of the mediaeval pageants. The musical delight in the bell-like chime

[1] The Prince's Progress.
[2] Rapunzel.
[3] Two Red Roses across the Moon.
[4] The Sailing of the Sword.

of names we find in Rossetti's—

> " With her five hand-maidens, whose names
> Are five sweet symphonies,
> Cicily, Gertrude, Magdalen,
> Margaret and Rosalys." [1]

This trait occurs in Christina Rossetti's 'Maiden-Song,' 'A Bride's Song' and elsewhere. Keats's 'Eve of St. Mark' we have already discussed. One thing more remains to be said.

Where symbolism begins.

Mere recounting of beautiful detail for a length of time for its decorative value without charging it with any 'faint life of meaning, would require an objective temper which of all these poets Morris only had in a great degree because his was an expansive kind of romanticism. All the rest could not help investing their detail with some symbolic meaning. Even Keats betrays now and then a symbolic intention. Keats and Swinburne were great nature poets and when they were close in contact with the abundant riches of nature they kept their images spontaneously fresh, colourful and living. But once they had the decorative purpose uppermost they would almost unconsciously slip into a faint significant symbolism. If the stress laid on certain details occur frequently and insistently, they would naturally spring into life, assume a significance other than their surface-meaning and decorative value. This we find in Keats's 'Ode to Psyche' especially in the last stanza; the passage from the keen sensitiveness to the many-sided aesthetic appeal of the pomp and ritual of ancient Greek worship to the 'untrodden region of mind,' the beauties and mysteries of which are symbolically expressed, is quite natural.—

> " Yes, I will be thy priest, and build a fane
> In some untrodden region of my mind,

[1] The Blessed Damozel. We should notice how carefully Rossetti arranges his names in a musical flow and turn; the '*c*-ly' motif in 'Cicily' flows back in Rosalys, while the g-, r-, t-, d-. and m- motifs are carried on in shifting combinations 'Gertrude,' 'Magdalen' and 'Margaret'.

Where branched thoughts, new-grown with pleasant pain
Instead of pines shall murmur in the wind;
Far, far around shall those dark-clustered trees
Hedge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep;
And there by zephyrs, streams and birds and bees
The moss-lain Dryads shall be lull'd to sleep," etc.

We find a conscious symbolism in Swinburne's 'Ballad of Life'—

"She hold a little cithern by the strings
Shaped heart-wise, strung with subtle-coloured hair
Of some dead lute-player
That in dead years had done delicious things
The seven strings were named accordingly;
The first string charity,
The second tenderness,
The rest were pleasure, sorrow, sleep and sin,
And loving kindness, that is pity's kin
And is most pitiless."

Christina Rossetti's devotional pieces are full of a brilliant symbolism of the traditional kind, and Rossetti has an intricate symbolistic manner. This is just a natural line of development. Tennyson, too, many times attains to that intensity of concentration when a detail throbs with a life that is not its own. It is not the 'Pathetic fallacy,' so frequent in Tennyson, that we are aiming at. It is genuine symbolism that at rare intervals would come to him when his mind sought to express the inexpressible in moments of intense perception by striking out beautiful symbols.

C. Poetry, Painting and Sculpture, Tapestry-weaving and Music.

The third phase of the Romantic Movement in England was characterised among other things, by, as we have seen, a constant and profound recognition of the inter-relationship subsisting among the different arts, especially poetry, painting and

sculpture. This recognition was transformed into a creed by the Pre-Raphaelities, among whom there was not only a poet like Rossetti, who was also a great painter—not only a sculptor like Woolner, who was also a poet,—but also a poet like Morris, who was also a decorative artist. The Pre-Raphaelites were especially struck by their discovery of the inter-relationship between poetry and painting. Even a man of Hunt's realistic temper always harps on the imperative necessity of introducing poetry into painting. Rossetti, again, as Williams says,[1] sought to apply the methods of painting to poetry. Whether this practice led to any confusion of arts—as Mr. Beers is of opinion—whether the principles and methods of one art could be incorporated into the principles and methods of another art, is an abstract topic to be discussed later on. The tendency of one art overlapping into the province of another is, as has been proved, a distinctive trait. Here we proceed on the assumption that these artists, anticipated as they were by Keats, were convinced of the inter-relationship among different arts, especially poetry, painting, sculpture and decorative arts, and that they found it particularly instructive to execute their works from this standpoint, that this conviction produced distinct and valuable results on their art creations. Keats, as the forerunner in this line, draws our attention first.

Keats—Painting, Poetry and Sculpture.

Keats's acquaintance with painters and art-critics and knowledge of painting.

The influence which painters and lovers and critics of art exerted on Keats's life and thought was very great. Leigh Hunt who was an art-collector, Hazlitt who was a painter and art-critic, Severn the painter, Haydon the painter, Lamb the student and critic of art, were most of them very intimate friends of Keats. It was a time when art-criticism of a profoundly imaginative kind based on personal appreciation was available. Keats with his receptive temper and keen sense of beauty was easily

[1] Williams, Studies in Victorian Literature.

influenced. His acquaintance with the masterpieces in the National Gallery was extensive and he must have been acquainted with the technique of painting in the studio of his friends, as Young suggests.[1] Haydon and Severn introduced him to the beauties of the Elgin Marbles. Some poems of Keats are directly inspired by paintings, *e.g.*, 'Sonnet on a picture of Leander,' the fragment on 'Claude's Enchanted Castle,' etc. The Elgin Marbles inspired his two sonnets addressed to Haydon, his magnificent 'Ode on the Grecian Urn,' while stray instances of the influence of both painting and sculpture are scattered throughout his works.

Keats's understanding of the fundamentals of all arts.

Keats had an instinctive understanding of the fundamental aim of all great arts as is apparent from the letter which he wrote to Haydon in April, 1818.

"Believe me, Haydon, your picture is a part of myself—I have ever been too sensible of the labyrinthine path to eminence in Art (judging from Poetry) ever to think I understood the emphasis of painting. The innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling, delicate and snail-horn perception of beauty. I know not your many havens of intenseness—nor ever can know them; but for this I hope nought you achieve is lost upon me, for when a schoolboy the abstract idea I had of an heroic painting—was what I cannot describe. I saw it sometimes sideways, large, prominent, round and coloured with magnificence—somewhat like the feel I have of Anthony and Cleopatra or of Alcibiades leaning on his crimson couch in his galley, his broad shoulder imperceptibly heaving with the sea."

This is a passage which needs careful examination. Commenting on it Mr. Thorpe says:[2] "May we not believe that in

[1] Endymion and other Poems edited by W. T. Young, Introduction, p. xxi.

[2] Thorpe, The Mind of John Keats, pp. 172-73.

this passage we have a pretty clear exposition of Keats's idea of the creation of any art from the artist's standpoint ? Given an intellect with its 'thousand materials' to work with,—with images on one hand, and, on the other, sensuous symbols in poetry, words and metrical relations, in painting, lines and colour, in music, sounds in musical arrangements, there is a necessity for a long struggle for a fitting form which, when attained, is not only a perfect expression of the imaginative beauty sought, but is, moreover, a means of the artist's coming to a true intuition into that beauty, "that trembling, delicate and snail-horn perception" Keats describes. But there are some other things to be noted. First of all, this passage makes it clear that Keats considers poetry to be an art among other arts, not as the supreme art, or anything gloriously divine like Shelley. Secondly, a picture of Haydon's—though Keats does not understand its technique or workmanship thoroughly—is a part of himself 'nought that you achieve is lost upon me'—that is to say, he understands the fundamental principle of the art of painting and can grasp its beauty perfectly. Thirdly, this passage bears testimony to Keats's faculty of forming mental pictures, *i.e.*, images of vivid colour and restful concrete beauty. Lastly, the last sentence itself produces an impression which a work of sculpture only could produce. Keats knew this art of producing the effect of sculpture through language.

Here is another passage[1]—a passage already referred to—illustrating Keats's wonderful, intuitive perception of the soul of beauty, of the spirit of all sincere kind of art.

Keats's appreciation of early Italian painting : its interest.

" A year ago I could not understand in the slightest degree Raphael's cartoons--now I begin to read them a little—And how did I learn to do so ? By seeing something done in quite an opposite spirit—I mean a picture of Guido's in which all the Saints, instead of that heroic simplicity and unaffected grandeur which

[1] A letter addressed to George and Georgina Keats, dated December 31, 1818.

they inherit from Raphael, had each of them both in countenance and gesture all the canting, solemn, melodramatic mawkishness of Mackenzie's father Nicholas. When I was last at Haydon's I looked over a Book of Prints taken from the fresco of the Church at Milan, the name of which I forget—in it are comprised Specimens of the first and second age of art in Italy. I do not think I ever had a greater treat out of Shakespeare. Full of Romance and the most tender feeling—magnificence of draperies beyond any I ever saw, not excepting Raphael's. But Grotesque to a curious pitch—yet still making up a fine whole—even finer to me than more accomplish'd works—as there was left so much room for Imagination."

This passage is interesting for more reasons than one. Keats here anticipated the praise of the Pre-Raphaelites in a startling manner. His praise is highly enthusiastic, he never had a " a greater treat out of Shakespeare." But what characteristics of these early painters attract him most? Not " magnificence of draperies" certainly, though that is unsurpassed by Raphael himself (Keats is almost Pre-Raphaelite in his attitude). There is defect too—the grotesque element Keats notes carefully. It recalls Ruskin's similar opinions—the technique in the early painting was faulty. But then it still 'makes up a fine whole'—why? Because while in the hollow superficiality of Mackenzie's picture there is no soul, no imagination, these early painters are full of that quality. Their pictures are full of 'romance and the most tender feeling'—that is to say, they have a freshness, a clear perception of beauty, and a sincerity and naïveté of feeling, which appeal to the imaginative faculty—the very qualities which would attract the Pre-Raphaelites.

Having treated of Keats's acquaintance with, and appreciation of, art, we shall now deal with the influence of painting and sculpture on his poetry. Of painting, the preliminaries have already been stated. Of sculpture, something remains to be said before we take up the detail.

Keats's understanding of sculpture.

Keats who wrote that "poetry should surprise us by fine excess," who had the exuberance and abundant superfluity of the Elizabethans, is thought to be too 'Gothic,' too unrestrained, too 'romantic' to have any appreciation for classical form and instinct. *He himself confesses that his genius is Gothic, not Classic,*[1] just what Morris does. But along with it and most often obscured by it, this exuberant young poet was a patient artist of enormous self-restraint who advised Shelley to 'curb' his 'magnanimity' and to be 'more of an artist, and load every rift of your subject with ore.'' [2] This talk of discipline he understands is ' extraordinary for the writer of Endymion.' But he asserts that his 'imagination' is a monastery and he is its 'monk.' This 'monk,' Keats, who could now and then show amazing powers of self-restraint in expression had an instinctive understanding of the spirit of sculpture, the classical art *par excellence*, and as in ' Hyperion ' did essay, with enormous success, a restrained order of expression on the severely classical Miltonic model.

There is another trait to note. Keats in his ' Ode on a Grecian Urn,' ' Ode to Maia ' and elsewhere, shows his unerring imaginative penetration into the mystery, the very spirit of Greek life and art. This great faculty gave him, in moments of sober self-restraint, authentic and unfailing vision of the spirit of sculpture, and he could spontaneously produce through the medium of dynamic language, the effect of reposeful calm of Greek statuary which he studied at first hand in the Elgin Marbles.

Influence of painting on Keats's poetry.

Apart from the fact that the imagery of Keats's poetry has at times the detailed beauty and concrete outline and splendour of colour which we associate with painting, Keats attempted in several instances to incorporate into the body of his poems passages descriptive

[1] Fragment of Castle Builder.

[2] Letter to Shelley.

of, or subtly interpretative of, works of painting. Several such passages may be quoted :

"Forth from a rugged arch, in the dust below
Came mother Cybele! alone—alone—
In sombre chariot ; dark foldings thrown
About her majesty, and front death-pale,
With turrets crown'd. Four maned lions hale
The sluggish wheels ; solemn their toothed maws,
Their surly eyes brow-hidden, happy paws
Uplifted drowsily, and nervy tails
Cowering their tawny brushes, silent sails
This shadowy queen athwart, and faints away
In another gloomy arch.[1]"

This passage is supposed to have drawn its inspiration, according to Mr. Selincourt, from an engraving in Spence's Polymetis. It is a wonderful glimpse, a unique moment of vision ; Keats has successfully incorporated the picture into his poem, so that the "co-existence of the body" of painting, to put it in Lessing's formula, does not "come into collision with the consecutiveness of language" of poetry.[2] The vision swims into light gradually and fades away without arresting the movement of the verse forcibly—it floats easily along. This artistic success is attained by Keats by the use of certain words, which not only intensify the impressions of the picture but also give it a slow unobtrusive movement—'lions hale the sluggish wheels,' 'heavy paws uplifted drowsily' (the effect is half sculpturesque), 'their surly eyes brow-hidden' (this characterises and intensifies the living impression of the eyes and infuses a movement into them), 'silent sails this shadowy queen' and 'faints away'. In description we are told[3] nothing happens, hence too much description clogs the movement of the verse. This may be seen from Swinburne's use of description in his 'Tristram of Lyonesse.'

[1] Endymion, Bk. II.
[2] Laokoon, Ch. XVII.
[3] Dixon, Description in Poetry.

But description can be successfully managed, and the very thrill of impression which a piece of painting produces may be conveyed through the medium of verse, without impairing, but rather heightening, its native impression. And this Keats does here, though he did not, for all that we know, owe much to Lessing's speculations.

Another such passage is the famous stanza in the 'Song of the Indian Maiden'—

"Over wide streams and mountains great we went
And, save when Bacchus kept his ivy tent,
Onward the tiger and the leopard pants,
With Asian elephants ;
Onward these myriads—with song and dance
With zebras striped, and sleek Arabians prance
Web-footed alligators, crocodiles,
Bearing upon their scaley backs in files,
Plump infant laughters mimicking the coil
Of seamen, and stout galley-rowers' toil
With toying oars and silken sails they glide,
Nor care for wind and tide."

This passage Lord Houghton thinks is "the Bacchus and Ariadne of Titian in the National Gallery, translated into verse." That is admitted on all hands, but the glory of the translator's art has not been carefully brought out. "The pictorial description of the Bacchic procession," says Robert Bridges, "is unmatched for life, wide motion, and romantic dreamy orientalism."[1] So here we have 'life,' 'wide motion,' just the sort of impression which Titian's picture—as may be seen from any reprint—produces, and which Keats vividly describes in these lines of Sleep and Poetry.

"And the swift bound
Of Bacchus from his chariot, when his eye
Made Ariadne's cheek look bluishingly."

1 Robert Bridges, Collected Essays, etc., Vol. IV, p. 134.

But here Keats enriches the descriptive value of his poem by picking up arresting details from the picture, and yet there is 'life, wide motion,' the description does not produce an impression of restful solidity, it dissolves itself, in the frêe abandon of the verse-movement, without however sacrificing its outline in the process. The use of words like 'pants,' 'prance,' 'glide' is especially remarkable. It is to quote his words, 'some Titian colours touch'd into real life.'

'The Epistle to Reynolds' or 'Reminiscence of Claude's Enchanted Castle' has indeed some reminiscences of the picture which Keats must have studied from some engraving, but they are not of great importance. What interests us most is that, in the words of Mr. Sidney Colvin, "its suggestive power worked in his mind until it yielded at last the distilled poetic essence of the 'Magic Casement' passage in the Ode to a Nightingale." This does in no way minimise the glory of Keats's originality, his power of distilling the heart-thrill of Romance from an engraving or a picture. But it shows in what subtle ways painting influenced him.

The original of his 'Sonnet on a picture of Leander' has not been identified. The octet has the Dantesque type of imagery, the wild rapture, the suspense, the warm sensuousness, and condensed structure which are characteristic of Rossetti's sonnets for pictures—

"'Tis young Leander toiling to his death;
Nigh swooning, he doth purse his weary lips
For Hero's cheek, and smiles against her smile.
O horrid dream! see how his body dips
Dead-heavy; arms and shoulders gleam awhile
He's gone; up bubbles all his amorous breath."

With this may be compared Rossetti's second sonnet on 'Ruggier and Angelica by Ingress,' 'Venus,' 'Lilith,' etc. The idea is not to copy the detail but to arrange the significant detail, fusing them in the fire of a central idea, the very spirit of the impression

which the work of art produces on the imaginative mind. Keats's interpretative manner brings him in a curious way near to Rossetti.

Greek vases and Greek statuary and Keats's poetry.

The influence of the picture on Greek vases and of Greek statuary is seen in many passages of Keats's poetry. 'The Ode on a Grecian Urn' has already been referred to. In it Keats propounds a theory of art which, though not original, is arresting in its expression. Keats recognises the superiority of plastic art to poetry—

> " Sylvan historian, who canst thus express
> A flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme."

In this Keats goes against the modern theory of art, which recognises poetry as the most comprehensive of all arts. But this very emphasis makes clear Keats's standpoint. Again, Keats is enamoured of the "unheard melodies," the imaginative pleasure as opposed to the pleasure of the senses, of the " soft pipes " which pipe " to the spirit ditties of no tone." It is a mistake to read into these lines any deep spiritual meaning. Here we have only the distilled, delicate, ' snail-horn perception of beauty' which is the result of a long, arduous process of intense sensuous perception and imaginative penetration. "Unheard harmony is better than heard harmony"—said Heraclitus. What Keats thought was that the imaginative appeal of the silent figures—the 'unheard' melody—was far greater than actual music. For him the still, small figures on the Greek vase were full of a poetic appeal. The tribute Keats pays here to the ' Attic shape,' ' with brede of marble men and maidens overwrought,' is unique in its profound appreciation ; with other interests of this poem we are not concerned here.

Keats's Sonnet on the Elgin Marbles we may also note is eloquent of the impression which the sight of the Elgin Marbles produced on him.

Instances are many where Keats produced a sense of sculpturesque repose and calm beauty—

" Sideways his face reposed
On one white arm, and tenderly unclosed
By tenderest pressure, a faint damask mouth
To slumbery pout." End., Bk. II.

This is sculpture and painting together. But we have instances of genuine sculpturesque calm and solidity—

" She saw the young Corinthian Lycius
Charioting foremost in the envious race
Like a young Jove with calm uneager face."

A moment of restful strength is caught by Keats into his verse with magical success, just as the sculptor fixes one unique moment into the solid spatiality of his marble.

Again,

' Save one who work'd thereon with eye severe,
And with calm-planted steps walk'd in austere.'

This is the sage Appollonius. The penetrative severity of the eyes no doubt is out of harmony with the blank expression of the sculptured figures. ' Hyperion ' is full of sculpturesque effect :

" Upon the sodden ground
His old right hand lay nerveless, listless, dead,
Unsceptred ; and his realmless eyes were closed."

" And still these two were postured motionless
Like natural sculpture in Cathedral cavern ;
The frozen God still couchant on the earth,
And the sad Goddess weeping at his feet ;"

" At this, through all his bulk an agony
Crept gradual from the feet unto the crown,
Like a lithe serpent vast and muscular
Making slow way, with head and neck convulsed
From over-strained might." [1]

[1] Hyperion, Bk. I.

One passage of Hyperion was suggested by the Druid stones near Keswik which Keats saw with delight. Thus he describes the fallen Titans :

"Scarce images of life one here, one there,
Lay vast and edgeways, like a dismal cirque
Of Druid stones, upon a forlorn moor,
When the chill rain begins at shut of eve
In dull November."

Some other passages too may be quoted :

" and down sank
Like a Silenus on an antique vase:
'Tis might half slumbering, on its own right arm ".
—*Sleep and Poetry.*

a passage which is directly inspired by the Elgin Marbles.

Conclusion.

What are the conclusions that we arrive at after this discursive study of the influence of sculpture and painting on Keats's poetry.[1] Keats at times approximated to the art of sculptural representation and painting, he could produce through language the effect of sculpture, could successfully incorporate pictures, into his poems, could interpret the subtle impression which a work of painting produces with elaborate success and in this he anticipated Rossetti. Again, his appreciation of works of sculpture and painting was unerring and profound, and he always stressed on the soul-quality of the works of art, though he did not eschew the sensuous beauty of the detail ; and in this, again, he anticipates the Pre-Raphaelites. Can we make any guess about Keats's spirit and methods of painting or of executing figures in bronze or on Marble, had he been a painter or a sculptor ?

Rossetti—Painting and Poetry.

Before we take up the discussion of the interchange between the arts of painting and poetry which was characteristic of

[1] Revised Version of Hyperion.

Rossetti, it would be conducive to clarity if we state very briefly the general characteristics of the Pre-Raphaelite painting.

The general characteristics of the painting.

The Pre-Raphaelite painters aimed in the first place at what they vaguely termed 'Truth to Nature.' "The Pre-Raphaelites," says Prof. Raleigh,[1] "aimed at a minute fidelity in the representation of natural objects, and modelled their practice on the Tuscan artists of the earlier Renaissance. The Pre-Raphaelites looked at nature not as a vague pageant of tones fading into one another [2] and leading up to a focus of interest, but as an ordered array of objects, each infinitely worthy of intense and reverential scrutiny. Their multitudes are not the crowds of the earth, but the hierarchies of an imagined heaven, where each soul is a point of light. They arrange images and impressions as the Japanese arrange flowers, so that each may keep its perfect independence and none be lost in the mass. A religious sense inspires their efforts, but it is still a religion of the eye, nothing is too small for attention ; the meaning of nature is in every part ; all natural forms if they are carefully studied are perfect in beauty. Their eye is the eye of a child, who sees the shape of the clover-leaf long before he sees the clouds or the gradations of shadow on the hills."

Opinions of critics—Prof. Raleigh.

This, then, is the original principle of Pre-Raphaelite painting. Holman Hunt who toured Syria for local colour for his pictures, was the chief expositer and illustrator of this principle.

Waugh.

The principle of the Italian seventeenth century painting was that—to quote Mr. Waugh [3]—a single theme should be taken "for the design of each picture and varied and stressed with every considerable device of emphasis. Separated from the central scheme, the component parts are frequently ugly and meaningless. Hunt's aim was to effect a disintegration and diffusion of design, the theme being a purely

[1] Chambers's Encyclopaedia, Vol. III, p. 642.

[2] It recalls Ruskin's exposition in his lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.

[3] Waugh, Rossetti.

intellectual idea, rich as the religious allegory of The Light of the World, the moral reflection of the Awakened Conscience, etc., and the details of the composition being each a reverent study of the natural principles of substance and growth discernible in physical appearances." A typical instance is Millais's "Blind Girl," where the background of the rain-washed landscape and a gorgeous rainbow is painted with unfailing care. Every detail is intense as it is intensely perceived and represented on the canvas. This makes prominent the difference between Pre-Raphaelitism and modern impressionism.

Marriott.

The kind of truth to nature which the Pre-Raphaelites aimed at was, as Marriott suggests,[1] "esssentially non-optical" the aim was not to represent the look of things—which is the aim of Impression—but things as they are known to be ; just as in Millais's "Blind Girl," the landscape though dazzlingly real is not the sort of landscape one would see after looking at the girl, a subtle subjective transformation it would naturally undergo. But for this the Pre-Raphaelites did not care. Neither did their paintings resemble photography though there is photographic profusion of detail. Photography was not a factor they had to cope with, they had no special point of view like photography, neither does their emphasis on all parts resemble photography.

So there was this curious kind of naturalism. The religious feeling again predominated. It is displayed in their sincerity and purity of inspiration, idealism and love of symbolism. Holman Hunt's insistence on the introduction of poetry into painting is another point of interest. It may mean several things. First of all it may mean that in their pictures they should choose to illustrate incidents taken from poetic literature, which all of them did. Hunt and Millais illustrated Keats's 'Isabella,' 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' Tennyson's poems, etc. Rossetti illustrated Browning's 'Laboratory,' some poems of

[1] Marriott, Modern Movements in Painting, Ch, VIII.

Keats and many of his own poems. Burne-Jones illustrated Rossetti's 'Blessed Damozel,' some poems of Tennyson, etc. This duplication of treatment of the same theme was characteristic of the group. Again, Hunt's formula may also be taken to mean that the choice of subjects should be such as might interest poets, *i. e.*, as have an imaginative appeal. Indeed, a profound romantic spirit animates the pictures of Rossetti and Burne-Jones. All these considerations lead to the so-called 'literary appeal' of the Pre-Raphaelite art. According to Mr. Marriott, this so-called 'literary' character 'was merely the excess of the native tendency to rely upon subject-interest.' Whether it be contemporary life,[1] legendary themes,[2] subjects of strong literary interest[3] or subjects of a mediaeval temper and cast, or religious themes,[4] the subject-interest was uppermost. The Brotherhood, unlike the modern impressionists, rarely relied on pure invention, though in Rossetti's 'How They Met Themselves' and similar pictures, we find the quintessence of subjective interest.

But too much stress need not be laid on these general features. Each artist developed distinctive manners and distinctive feelings too. From Hunt with his traditional thoroughly native sentiments and patient fidelity to Nature to Burne-Jones who, as G. K. Chesterton says, "painted his ideal people and created a world of his own of them," [5] there is a world of difference.

Rossetti—painting and poetry.

Turning to Rossetti we find, "His ideals were almost the standards of painting transferred to poetry." Now, how can the 'standards of painting' be 'transferred' to 'poetry'—when one remembers all that the writer of 'Laokoon,' and his disciple

1 *Cp.* Ford Madox Brown, Work; Rossetti, Found, etc.

2 *Cp.* Burne-Jones, Cophetua and the Beggar Maid; Hunt, Scapegoat, etc.

3 *Cp.* Millais, Ophelia; Hunt, Two Gentlemen of Verona, etc.

4 *Cp.* Rossetti, Annunciation; Hunt, The Light of the World, etc.

5 Famous Paintings, Vol. I.

the writer of the 'New Laokoon' have said? Does not the 'transfer' result in confusion? Is it not the case, as Mr. Beers says,[1] that "the method proper to one art intrudes into the other; everything that the artist does has the air of experiment; he paints poems and writes pictures?"

An artist who is deeply convinced of the inter-relationship between the arts of painting and poetry, who is a great painter and a great poet, who can express himself in one art as much successfully as in the other, must have within him that basis of unity which connects the two arts together. The methods of painting and poetry, of music and sculpture, differ. Following Hegel[2] we may say that sculpture has for its medium solid matter and spatiality in its three dimensions; painting uses only two dimensions and presents merely the appearance of matter without its reality; music abstracts from space altogether and subsists in time only, and its medium is tone; lastly, poetry has for medium the wholly subjective and inward forms of the sensuous image. Again, sculpture in its formal perfection is prevailingly a classic type of art—it depicts the spirit in its undisturbed universality and repose. But poetry, painting and music are *par excellence* romantic types of art, as they are concerned with action, conflict, emotional states, inward soul-life, not serenity and repose. Even then we have observed how Keats could convey through language the effect of sculpture. Keats's practice is a convincing piece of argument in the face of all critical oppositions. Indeed, there is nothing which poetry—the most comprehensive art—cannot accomplish. It can by artistic manipulation of images give us the impression of painting and sculpture, as also by heightening and patterning the rhythmic movement, the impression of pure music. And in doing that poetry does not cease to be poetry, but gets enriched with the elements derived from a sister art. Rossetti and Swinburne illustrate two aspects of the same artistic activity.

[1] Romanticism in the Nineteenth Century.

[2] Aesthetics.

Rossetti sought to give poetry a concentrated music, a deep weight of feeling and opulence in tone, thus making the units of poetry more static than usual, more pictorial, 'pictorial' in a new sense, than usual, while Swinburne, in the sweep and rush, as also in the occasional thin fluting of his verse, sought to make poetry 'musical' in a new sense.

But there are some other aspects of the problem. The artistic necessity of painting is not identically the artistic necessity of poetry. The poems which Rossetti painted, and the pictures which Rossetti poetised, we can study with a view to find out to what stage in a story, to what stanza in a poem, the unique moment chosen by the artist may correspond, or, on what details in the pictures, the emphasis is laid in the poem. But this study—interesting as it is—need not detain us here. We shall note the grounds of affinity which make the pictures of Rossetti resemble his poems, and *vice versa*, though we recognise that the rhythmic delight, which the skilful arrangement of lines and colours on the canvas conveys, is not the same which the images and melody of poetry convey, though there may be affinities in more senses than one.

For many reasons we cannot cut off Rossetti's paintings from his poetry. The use of symbolic detail crowded and emphasised both in poetry and painting and appealing in both cases to the colour-sense is one ground of affinity. Again, we must take note of the so-called 'literary' character of his painting—a general Pre-Raphaelite trait. Lastly, the spirit of woman, which is his persistent preoccupation in poetry and painting, is another ground of affinity. This spiritual basis of affinity must be kept in view when we study Rossetti's 'Sonnets for Pictures.' Rossetti's attempts at interpretations in language of pictorial suggestions resemble, as has been shown, those of Keats. In some cases, as in his sonnet of "Mnemosyne" which has been so much praised, Rossetti displays a marvellous fidelity in translating in language the exact nuances of impression which his picture conveys,

Morris—Tapestry-weaving and Poetry.

In speaking of the influence of the painting of Rossetti and that of the poetry of Morris on Swinburne in his early years, Mr. Thomas[1] says—"Though Morris was no painter, the influence of his poetry, the mingled violence and dreaminess of life in the land of his early poems, or, rather, that arras 'where the wind set the silken kings asway' could not but second the influence of painting." But whatever be the nature of its influence, the effect of Morris's poetry is not like that of painting Morris had the abilities of a decorative artist rather than those of a painter. He had not the painter's gift of concentration. The revival of decorative arts is an essential aspect of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. Rossetti, and Burne-Jones too, had a share in it. It was in this branch that Morris was the supreme artist.

Again, he never believed in inspiration. "The talk of inspiration," he once said, "is sheer nonsense. I may tell you that flat; there is no such thing; it is a mere matter of sheer craftsmanship." He was a craftsman, not only in panel-work, in tapestry-weaving, in upholstery business, but also in poetic expression. He sought to revive the arts and crafts of the Middle Ages with delightful fidelity. It is tapestry-weaving which he loved most. "If a chap can't compose an epic poem," he says, "while he's weaving tapestry, he had better shut up; he'll never do any good at all." This shows how much convinced he was of the likeness between these two forms of artistic activity. In more ways than one he sought to produce tapestry-like effects by the lines and images of his verse. On this Mr. Mackail has an interesting note.[2] "Sir Edward Burne-Jones told me that Morris would have liked the faces of his pictures less highly finished, and less charged with the concentrated meaning or emotion of the painting. As with the artists of Greece and of the Middle Ages, the

[1] Thomas, Swinburne—A Critical Study, pp. 62-63.
[2] Mackail, Morris, Vol. II, p. 286.

human face was to him merely a part, though no doubt a very important part, of the human body. In speaking of the qualifications required from tapestry-weavers, it was on their skill in rendering the feet and hands, not the faces, of the figures, that he laid special stress. He was quite satisfied with the simple and almost abstract types of expression that can be produced in tapestry; and he thought that the dramatic and emotional interest of a picture ought to be diffused throughout it as equally as possible. Such too was his own practice in the cognate art of poetry; and this is one reason why his poetry affords so few memorable single lines, and lends itself so little to quotation. Either quality would have been a merely incidental merit, and perhaps even a defect, in the view of his art which he himself held." Indeed Morris's delight in the handling of his materials, the beautiful fabric, the thin green gowns worn by his Greek girls (in Jason), the jewels, gold brocades, precious metals, colours —was mainly for the tapestry-like effect which he could achieve out of them, treating every detail as a part of a flat, broad design, a form of expression which Keats anticipates, as has been suggested, in his 'Eve of St. Mark' fragment. There is no emphasis on any single point, the interest is diffused throughout. He did not like Tennyson seek subtle nuances of expression through an arduous process of concentration. He is not of the order of those who are after the 'absolute expression of absolute beauty.' He is like the tapestry-weaver who prepares his colours and threads beforehand, spreads out his design underneath the loom and weaves it into the texture of the fabric with joyous art. His lines are like thin threads, he draws them out to their utmost tenuity. Neither does he care for congruity, in the manner of the 14th century poets. Brown bird, bright flower, grey sky or green sea occur in place and out of place without any incongruity—they serve their purpose in the design. Morris's art is, in this, highly conventionalised. He has a store of images and this he arranges according to a pattern each time without caring to consider whether this leads to any violence to

probability or any want of freshness. But he would weave his yarn. This weaving he liked, like a mediæval craftsman. This was the song of his craft—

> "Lo silken my garden
> And silken my sky
> And silken my apple boughs
> Hanging on high."

This tapestry-like effect he produces, not only in his larger pieces, but also in small fragments, where the design is curious—

> "Golden wings across the sea
> Moonlight from tree to tree
> Soft hair laid on my knee."

His narrative method is nothing but the succession of cool pictures in soft water-colour through which a subdued pulse of life circulates.

His verse is never hard, it can be swift, it calls for much spacing out with scenery, colour, and rumination, and he unites these things with a steady movement. There is no pause to note the beauty of a fragment, and each one fulfils its purpose in the broad design—the agricultural instinct of Morris is unfailing as may be seen by examining the structure of his longer poems.

Here is a typical instance of Morris's method of narration—

> "Now was his dwelling place a fair-hewn cave,
> Facing the south; thereto the herdsmen drave
> Full oft to Chiron woolly sheep, and neat,
> And brought him wine and garden honey-sweet.
> And fruits that flourish well in the fat plain,
> And cloth and linen, and would take again
> Skins of slain beasts, and little lumps of gold,
> Washed from the high crags;..............

"Moreover, Chiron taught him how to cast
His hand across the lyre, until there passed
Such sweetness through the woods, that all about
The wood-folk gathered, and the merry rout
That called on Bacchus, hearkening, stayed awhile,
And in the chase the hunter, with a smile,
From his raised hand let fall the noisy horn
When to his ears the sweet strange sound was borne...

"Thereafter wandering lonely did he meet
A maid with girt-up gown and sandalled feet,
Who joyously through flowering grass did go,
Holding with her hand an unstrung bow;
And, setting eyes on her, he thought indeed,
This must be she that made Actaeon bleed;
For certes ere that day he had not seen
Within that wild, one made so like a queen.

"So, doubtful, he held back, nor dared to love
Her rosy feet, or ivory knees above.
And, with half uplifted eyes, could scarcely dare
To gaze upon her eyes or golden hair
Or hidden bosom..............." [1]

That is Morris's narrative method—no hurry, no purple patches, cool refreshing pictures and broad gestures, not a single detail which cannot be represented on tapestry and hung up on the wall for the delight of men. And indeed the images are of the order which were represented on mediæval tapestries—the deeds of Diana, simple woodland scenes, etc.

Swinburne—Music and Poetry.

Swinburne, we have stated, belongs on the art-side to the Pre-Raphaelite School of artists in one essential aspect of his poetic technique—in the overlapping of the art of poetry into the art of music.

[1] The Life and Death of Jason, Canto I.

The 'romantic' attempt to obliterate the boundary line between different arts.

In this Swinburne is 'romantic' in a peculiar sense. Indeed, it would not be rash to say that one of the endeavours of romanticism on the art-side has always been to obliterate as far as possible the frontier line between different arts. Do we not see something essentially 'romantic' even in Wordsworth's attempt to approximate the art of poetry to the art of prose? Other instances we have already mentioned. Every romantic art has had vague analogues outside itself. Fond as we are of laying too much stress on the spiritual adventures of romanticism, we seldom notice its no less ambitious adventures on the purely art-side.

There are people who like Walter Pater try 'to estimate the degree in which a given work of art fulfils its responsibilities to its special material,' who note in the picture its 'true pictorial charm,' in the poem the 'true poetical quality' and 'the element of song in the singing' only.[1] For them the 'vague analogues' may be of no interest. But romantic art is great in proportion to its invasive instinct. Indeed, the practice of all great romantic artists—be they poets, musicians or painters—bears out this statement.

The modern 'futurists' try to represent movement, the 'post-impressionist' sculptors—as in Germany—to impose rhythm.

Poetry and music—the practice of the 'romantic' musicians.

The analogy of poetry to music is a long established thing. The poet was a 'singer;' even now, when learned sterile verse-craft chokes song, genuine poetry has got a way of escaping the restrictions of learning and wings away into song. Apart from the fact that music in its first origin was derived from a declamatory art, *i.e.*, poetry, great musicians or great poets have very often

[1] Sharp, Personal Reminiscences of Walter Pater. Of course it would be doing Pater an injustice if we think that he was for sharp division of different arts. He was profoundly convinced of the inter-relationship of different arts, and was many times accused of 'adultery of arts.' What he wanted was to relish the specialities of each art.

tried to obliterate the boundary lines between music and poetry. What has been called the ' Romantic Movement in Music '—the movement which included artists like Berlioz, Schumann and Chopin—is specially interesting in this respect. These artists tried to draw as near as possible to literature, to the significance of the articulate word, to give to music the wonder and beauty of romance. Schumann's melodies are written in stanzas which recall the forms of verification. Berlioz went further. He sought to make music definitely pictorial "every melody, every cadence, is visualised as part of a scene, every stroke of orchestral effect is laid with a view to its inherent expressiveness." Again, later on, we hear of Wagner who regarded his music-dramas as a fusion of all the arts. Scriabin, we are told, " attempted to experiment in combinations of music with colour and light and perfume, all conveying, as he thought, through the different avenues of sense to some remote and central dwelling-place of the soul."

So Swinburne was following a regular trend of artistic activity when he sought to approximate poetry to music. Though music deals with ' pure tone '—in Hegelian formula—it may take up the added significance of the articulate word. Whether these romantic attempts have any scientific basis is a topic we are not competent to deal with, and though the authorities have praised many such romantic attempts for their isolated beauty, they have mentioned many ' dangers ' of such attempts. As for instance, the purely emotional effect of music may be injured in this process or the musician, enamoured of this new adventitious psychological appeal, may neglect to master his own medium. Again, with regard to poetry it may be said with Addison, ' music renders us incapable of hearing sense,' as is sometimes the case with Swinburne.

This general discussion has cleared up our position somewhat. In what essential respect, then, does Swinburne's verse resemble music ?

Orchestration in music and in.

The most important discovery in the whole history of music was, to quote Hadow,[1] 'the origin and development of combined part singing by which different and independent voices are woven into a single texture of harmonic beauty.' This is vocal harmony. With the development of instrumental music, we come to 'orchestration' in which a number of instruments of different 'timbre' are combined to produce a rich complex effect according to a prescribed pattern or 'composition.' We are quite ready to believe with Hadow that this harmonic effect is the 'special characteristic of music as distinct from all other arts ; there is nothing like it in poetry or painting or sculpture, they all operate through contiguity in space or through succession in time, music can alone make its most intimate appeal through the combining and co-operating movement of simultaneous parts.'

Swinburne's poetry.

But there is one consideration. What poetry cannot do simultaneously, it may be able to do through skilful juxtaposition and systematic repetition. Swinburne delighted in instrumentation of verse-melody as also in rich orchestral effect. A poem like 'Olive' or a poem like 'A Match' deals with simple melodies, or to put it otherwise, produces the music of pipe or flute or viol, and a poem like the celebrated 'Hymn of Proserpine' produces a rich orchestral effect.

Let us take up one typical example and analyse it. Keats and Rossetti were fond of clear concentrated melody of verse. This is from Keats's 'Belle Dame Sans Merci.'

" O what can ail thee, knight-at-arms,
Alone and palely loitering?
The sedge has wither'd from the lake,
And no birds sing."

[1] Hadow, Music, p. 5.

It is like the playing on a one-stringed instrument with a sharp stinging tune. This is from Swinburne's 'A Forsaken Garden.'

1 1 2 3 4 4 5 4
In a coign of the cliff between lowland and highland
a a b c c c

6 2 1 4 3 1
At the sea-down's edge between windward and lee,
b d d c

7 1 4 5 4
Walled round with rocks as an inland island,
d e e c c

8 7
The ghost of a garden fronts the sea.
f f

4 7 8 10
A girdle of brush-wood and thorn encloses
f b d

1 8 8 10 9
The steep square slope of the blossomless bed
g g g b

1 7 10 8 10
Where the weeds that grew green from the groves of its roses
d h h h

3, 5 9
Now lie dead.[1]

This is not a comprehensive analysis. We have desisted from putting notation mark on many places in order to avoid complicating the scheme. We should notice how clever Swinburne's repetitions and juxtapositions are. The l-*motif* predominates, in order to suggest loneliness. Again, the efficacy of s-*motif* or w-d- and r-*motifs* suggesting the whizzing sound of wind blowing, and aridness respectively, are also noticeable. So many tunes and melodies have been woven into the texture of this stanza that it is well-nigh impossible to distinguish them from the orchestrated whole. This one instance is sufficient to establish Swinburne's greatness as a ' romantic ' artist.

[1] The numericals represent vowel sounds, while the alphabet represent consonant sounds.

CONCLUSION.

. We have now reached the concluding part of our study. We have so long tried to lay proper emphasis on the prominent features of our study, and have tried to bring into relief the broad principles amidst the details they animate and hold together. The time has come when we should carefully collect the scattered strands of tentative principles, suggestions and side-issues spaced out throughout our thesis and should give them a final focal unity in the light of our thetic purpose. We shall briefly summarise the results of our study and try to view them as a part of a larger scheme, not as so many isolated literary phenomena appearing and then disappearing once for all.

We began with Fausset's charge against the Pre-Raphaelite poets and painters; our entire study has been one steady, continued refutation of it. Far from misunderstanding Keats, the Pre-Raphaelites, we have shown, were the proper persons to enter into and appreciate the spirit of Keats's art. Not that they did not miss something of the latent, strenuous, inchoate humanitarian purpose of Keats, but what they did not miss constituted almost all that Keats was as a realisation, as distinguished from a promise. The letters of Keats, discovered late, and some ambiguous fragments of poetry, have a dubious interest, metaphysical, psychological and 'modern' in the post-Victorian sense, an interest with which the Pre-Raphaelites had nothing to do; nor were they any the worse for it.

We stated the object of our study as twofold. In the first place, we sought to prove that Keats anticipated and influenced the Pre-Raphaelite poets in many ways, and, secondly, this was due to the fact that the "Romantic" temper of Keats was analogous to that of those poets—as they, from the historical point of view, worked out one essential aspect of the English Romantic movement with elaborate success. Thus we had two distinct, but allied, purposes or schemes. The smaller scheme, the relationship of Keats

The larger and smaller patterns

and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, the more important scheme no doubt, we wanted to enclose within the outline of the larger scheme, the historical scheme. Varying the figures, and inverting the method of procedure, we may say that our object was to view the more finished thickly-coloured, well-set pattern as a part of a larger and necessarily vaguer pattern,—and this we have now succeeded in doing. We shall indicate below the schemes of our thesis, the results attained, adding, retrospectively, some final touches.

For the sake of clarity we divided our thesis in three parts ; the first part being mainly introductory, the second part dealing with the thought-side, and the third and last part with the art-side, of the problem.

In the introductory part, after stating the starting point and the object of our study, we were mainly engaged

illustrated :

with spade-work, demarcating the line of peculiar "Escapistic" activity we are interested in, from the complex conglomerate activities loosely called "Romanticism," rescuing Keats the artist from his subtle modern interpreters, rescuing the Pre-Raphaelite poets from the numerous popular and erudite fallacies about them. Thus the ground was prepared for the introduction of the main problems of our study. The larger pattern was here elaborated, its outlines fixed.

In the second part, the larger pattern receded from our view and we concentrated on the smaller pattern, that depicting the relationship between Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets—the numerous thought-affinities existing between them. The background of the larger pattern, however, we never quite forgot.

In the third and last part, the larger pattern was again referred to. Formulating a theory of "Romantic" art as distinguished from "Romantic" thought, we sought to apply it to the smaller pattern, that of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets, and thereby brought out their numerous art-affinities ; we showed how Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets were "Romantic" artists in a special sense.

This is how we can view our study as a unified whole, with a clear purpose and a set of inter-realated schemes.

The unity of our study.

Now we shall take up the main results of our study and elucidate them where necessary.

Our starting point was "Escapism." We have shown, in the first place, how this "Escapistic" activity was inseparable from all "Romantic" activity.

A review of the results of our study.

From this we went on to examine the English Romantic Movement (1780-1830) and tried to distinguish the "Escapistic" impulse running through it from other impulses. We showed how English Romanticism was saturated with an "Escapistic" motive, how even poets like Wordsworth, Shelley, Byron, Southey, Moore too, were "Escapists" in some sense or other. From this vague, generalised definition of "Escapism" we went to a specialised definition of it, a definition as it applied to poets like Collins, Chatterton, Blake, Coleridge, Keats, Hood and Reynolds. This "Escapism" was, we showed, essentially allied with the "Resurrection of the Senses" or the "Renaissance of Wonder" movement. It was gloriously 'sensuous,' dreamy, artistic, beauty-loving, beauty-worshipping, at times fantastic, curious, even morbid. Mediaevalism, Hellenism, Supernaturalism, etc., were but different expressions of this "Escapistic" motive. It was this "Escapism," we established, that connected the Romantic Movement with the Pre-Raphaelite or the Neo-Romantic Movement, and Keats with the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Nay, more. This "Escapism," we also suggested, would later on degenerate into the Aestheticism of the Decadent School. Thus we indicated a line of artistic activity—essentially 'sensuous,' 'sensuous' in a profound sense—which was originated in the closing quarters of the Eighteenth Century and continued, with varying fortunes, right up to the Decadent Movement, which of course included the early Yeats who wrote of the "Lake Isle of Innisfree" and "nine bean rows" and likened the "moon" to a red "apple."

From this broader design we picked up Keats and Pre-Raphaelite poets and showed their inter-relationships with special care. We analysed the " Romantic " mood of Keats in all its bearings and, comparing it with that of the Pre-Raphaelite poets, established the essential unity of temper of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. From this we went on to compare the particular dream-motifs and the particular dream-worlds of these poets, and in each case showed the obligations of the Pre-Raphaelite poets to Keats. We took care to distinguish the extent and quality of Keats's influence from that of Coleridge and other poets. In this way we were able to determine Keats's position as an orginator of new romantic motifs.

On the art-side, we showed, first of all, certain general common characteristics of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Then we introduced the thesis that the audacious " Romantic " spirit had its special application in poetic technique. Romanticism (1780-1830) not only broadened the outlines of spiritual aspiration but it also enlarged the boundary of poetic art. And the special ' Romantic ' technique, we showed, was based on a profound recognition of the inter-relationship of arts, its audacities were seen in overlapping the boundaries of arts, enriching poetic art with the methods of painting, sculpture, tapestry-weaving, etc. Even Wordsworth's attempt to make the language of everyday prose the language of poetry was thus ' Romantic ' in a special sense. From this we proceeded to examine the poetic technique of Keats, and analysed its relationships with the allied arts of painting and sculpture. With the results thus obtained, we proceeded to examine the poetic art of Rossetti, Morris and Swinburne respectively and brought out the ' Romantic ' quality of their artistic experiments and practices.

Thus, we believe, we laid due emphasis on one aspect of the complex problem of "Romanticism," and formulated a new point of view which has not hitherto been properly taken care of. This negligence has been very much harmful in so far as the habit of magnifying the spiritual adventures of " Romanticism"

at the cost, of course, of its technical aspect, was not properly counteracted. "Romanticism," we may now say, not only devised numerous audacious aspirations to reach the stars but also devised numerous audacious art-methods to clothe these aspirations. "Romanticism" is not a mixture of maximum of 'spirit' with minimum of 'form,' but, properly speaking, a fusion of 'spirit' and 'form,' so that this 'form' too grows audacious, adventurous, spiritualised.

We wish to round off our study by discussing two more interesting problems, one on the thought-side and one on the art-side, bringing, by this process, our study into a larger relationship of things.

More than once we hinted at some possible ethical significance of the 'failure' of the "Escapistic" efforts of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Now we shall try to make our view clear.

Ethical significance.

Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets were 'pure' artists, and the work they produced was 'pure' romance. They took delight in their work, they filled the still hours of their thought with dreams and visions of beauty. Numerous were their successful efforts—they offered us so many white lilies of meek devotion, so many passionate roses of sensuous longing. All the same they were melancholy, and we have shown wherein the conflict lay. The Uranian Aphrodite claimed them as her own but stern Minerva too looked on—how could they ignore the deity of reality, of wisdom, of virtue altogether? They tried to get over this conflict, some by ignoring it, some by making compensatory efforts, some by trying to synthesise the apparent conflicts into a larger harmony. But they all failed. Rossetti's mysticism was the final effort, but it led to no final affirmation. The effort, nay, all the efforts, were beautiful, but the artists as men were, we again say, failures.

The fact is, these artists had no deep philosophic basis. An ethereal longing may find beautiful expression in art and go

forth, Ariel-like, enchanting people with its melody, but how is it to be brought into harmony with the Calibans, the gross earthly elements, of life? The skeleton in the cupboard is a fundamental fixture ; one may ignore it in a truant mood of jollity, but how long can it be ignored ?

Beauty they loved and worshipped, but beauty they did not understand in its all-comprehensive significance. Theories of beauty are so many, from Plato to Santayana we have so many formulators of them ; they too tried to formulate their own theories. But all these theories failed to provide them with a secure basis.

We are not thinking of the instructive or so-called 'ethical' significance of art, nor are we harping on the trite distinction between 'fine art,' 'good art' and 'great art.' Again, we are not for vouching for Croce's subtle distinctions between 'artistic,' 'economic,' 'philosophic' and 'scientific' activities of human mind. Bul we recognise the fact that while people will go to Wordsworth for his 'healing art' (Arnold) or 'balm divine' (Watson), they will approach Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets only in their truant, holiday moods.

Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets did not indeed hook their creative efforts to some ideas, and in that, we have said, lies the possibility of the permanence of their efforts as creations of beauty. Ideas come and go, but the images of beauty never lose their appeal. Viewed in this light, Wordsworth's poetry will lose some significance as time passes on, and the song of Keats's Nightingale will never fail to charm us. But still then we would go to Wordsworth for that very 'balm divine,' that deep 'human' note, which we miss in Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites. The latter are for our holiday moods when we too imagine ourselves as Arcadians.

Permanent appeal of Arcadianism.

But Aracadianism too is a permanent thing. It is the truant, beautiful, essentially youthful mood which even the most hard-hearted people occasionally indulge in. Keats and the Pre-Raphaelites were, if anything, essentially youthful artists. They were youthful in

their dreamings, in their longings, in their passionate spirit of sensuous enjoyment. Theirs was not the illimitable Marlowesque desires for unimaginable pleasures, that strongly human Renaissance-motif, but the more refined, more beautiful, dreamy longing of the eternal youth of all ages, journeying through moon-lit glades and meadows for the love of a maidenly Artemis, or seeking beyond space and time the dark deep eyes of the Blessed Damozel. They were youthful, again, not only in these beautiful dreamings but also in the morbidity of their temper, in their fascination for the bright interstices of light as also for the deep dark shadows. Youth is prone to melancholy. Youth only feels the romantic attraction of death and sorrow—Werther, René, Byron, Swinburne, they are a type. And Keats died so young![1] Morris could not, for all that he wrought and thought, get over the first fine careless rapture of his youth, that gaze of wonderment at the beauty of things—his entire life was but the prolongation of a youthful dream. Swinburne the singer, what was he if not an irresponsible youth all along his career with his audacious challenges, his frank sensualism, his litany of the Devil and the Sins?[2] And Rossetti, too, was frankly, strongly, nay, morbidly youthful. A keen sense of the ultimates we find in him as in Keats. But it is a 'sense,' not a mature experience. And Christina Rossetti, with her premature 'vanity of vanities,' her pellucid devotional dreams and occasional sensuous raptures, recalls the young nun of repressed instincts so often.

We shall now deal with the second topic we proposed to discuss.

Romantic theory of art and modern literary criticism.

We formulated a theory of "Romantic" art and illustrated its applications—conscious or unconscious—in Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. Now we shall try to show its connections with a type

1 The real explanation of the melancholy of Keats and the Pre-Raphaelite poets. The above remarks are only of general application.

2 H. Nicolson's theory of 'arrested development' of Swinburne's poetic career (Swinburne, 1926) is a very interesting study from our point of view.

of literary criticism which originated with Pater, and has grown to be a leading type of literary criticism now-a-days.

It would be a highly interesting subject of enquiry to discuss the connections—historically—between Keats's "sensationalism" ("O for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts" [1]) with Pater's "Neo-Cyrenaicism" or "Neo-Hedonism" which enabled him to formulate the "Pleasure theory" of literary appreciation. But to intrude the idea would spoil the integrity of this thesis.

What interests us here is to note how the "Romantic" theory of inter-relationship of arts invades the region of literary criticism. Pater has so often been accused of "adultery of arts." A few typical instances would make our point clear.

In speaking of the plot of Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost*, Pater says :—

"The scene—a park of the King of Navarre—is unaltered throughout ; and the unity of the play is not so much the unity of a drama as that of a series of pictorial groups, in which the same figures reappear, in different combinations on the same background."

Pater is here thinking of a mediaeval or Pre-Raphaelite picture composed of so many panels as the celebrated *"Chaucer in the Court of Richard II."*

Here is another instance from the allied art of music—Pater is speaking of the lyrical expressions of the agonies of Richard II :

"As in some sweet anthem of Handel, the sufferer, who put finger to the organ under the utmost pressure of mental conflict, extracts a kind of peace at last from the mere skill with which he sets his distress to music—

> " Beshrew thee, Cousin, that didst lead me forth
> Of that sweet way I was in to despair ! "

[1] A line which has been variously, but never conclusively, interpreted. But we must understand something more than "sensations" by Keats's "sensations." Keats was think ing of " intuitions" also.

Of course terms like "background," "outlines," "light and shade," "perspective," "melody," "harmony," "repose" have long been included into the vocabulary of literary criticism. But it was due to Pater, more than to any other man, that the intelligent application of these terms had been possible. Now we not only apply these terms but seek in Coleridge's and Shelley's landscapes the qualities of Turner's landscape-paintings, in Coleridge's landscapes the qualities of Dutch painting, in Browning's grotesquerie the touches of Hogarthian humour; now we talk of the sculpturesque quality of Milton's or Keats's verse; we seek in the construction of poems "architectural quality;" we speak of the "instrumentation" or "orchestration" of Swinburne's verse; again, we speak so often of the 'craftsmansnip' of Keats, Tennyson or Morris! How enriched has the terminology of criticism grown and how wide and intelligent has our appreciation grown! Slowly but steadily has this change come about, though its theory has not yet been properly stated.

JĀTAKA-GLEANINGS BEARING ON ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILISATION

By

Gokuldas De, M.A.

POLITY

In India history meant the history of her civilisation. From time immemorial the authors who undertook to narrate the political events of the country were mostly sages living in hermitages and leading saintly lives themselves they stressed the cultural side of the society rather than the political which consists in the enumeration of succession of kings and their works. The people also bothered themselves less over the activities of kings which were more or less of personal nature than over their virtues which made a permanent impression on them. The result has been that from the modern point of view, there is a general dearth of historical works in the wide field of Indian literature. Emulation of virtues in kings and detestation of their sins engaged the foremost attention of these writers who paid little regard towards events of political importance and their chronology. In their extreme desire to depict what is beautiful and beneficial these sages became more of idealists than realists and have produced works which are known as Epics and Puranas describing events that might be said to have happened in a highly virtuous state.

Jātakas more authentic than other records.

The Jātakas culled out from popular folk-lore in verse omitting the bulk that was unnecessary for the elucidation of Buddhistic morals were, on the other hand, originated by the people and possessed none of the gloss or high-flowing language

so common in idealistic literature.[1] And though their avowed object was far from depicting the history of the land as evidenced by their unostentatious mode of presentation, they have mostly preserved references to conditions social, political and religious which were more real than imaginary, immensely heightening their value in the reconstruction of India's past civilisation.

These references to social and political conditions of ancient India are undoubtedly incidental and are found lying scattered all over the text which deals with a theme having very little connection with them. For, the Jātakas were meant for illustrating the effect of 'Karma' on the repeated births of man, ultimately leading to heaven or hell according as it was good or bad. Examples of kings served best this avowed purpose of the Jātakas and therefore such references became inevitable by way of illustrations. The author or authors of the Jātakas had no idea of recording them for their own sake.

Period assigned to the Jātakas is post-Vedic and pre-Buddhistic.

The period assigned to the incidents referred to in the Jātakas is, according to the scholars who have worked in the field and the trend of thought expressed in them as we shall see presently, pre-Buddhistic and post-Vedic. This is also corroborated by the fact that a story cannot come under the category of a Jātaka-story unless it is a story of the past (atītaṃ) at the time of its narration and if their origin can be traced to the very lifetime of the Buddha, these references necessarily go back to the pre-Buddhistic times.[2]

Dr. Fick is of opinion that they have been scarcely altered from the state they were in when they were handed down from mouth to mouth among early Buddhists and that they can be referred undoubtedly in all that relates to those social conditions to the time of Buddha himself. While Dr. Bühler observes that in view of the fact that there are remarkably few traces of Buddhism in those stories they do not describe the conditions of

1 *Vide* 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jātakas,' C. R., July, 1930; also 'Development of the Jātaka Vatthu,' C. R., Feb., 1931.

2 "Bhagavā pañca jātakasatāni bhāsanto attano ca paresaṃ ca *atītaṃ ādisati* '— Culla Niddesa, p. 80.

India in the 3rd or 4th century B. C. but an earlier one. We shall now confine our attention to the Jātaka-Gleanings in so far as they relate to ancient Indian polity.[1]

Political divisions of Northern India.

Extending from Gandhāra on the west to Magadha on the east and from the Himalayas on the north to the Narbada on the south, practically the whole of Northern India is represented in the Jātakas as being divided into several small states each, though not expressly mentioned, having a king at its head. These were (1) Gandhāra (IV, p. 98), (2) Pañcāla (VI, p. 280), (3) Surasena (VI, p. 280), (4) Macchā (VI, p. 280), (5) Madda (VI, p. 280), (6) Kekaka (VI, p. 280), (7) Sāketa (VI, p. 228), (8) Kosambi (VI, p. 237), (9) Kuru (VI, p. 272), (10) Kāsi (V, p. 376), (11) Vajji (VI, p. 238), (12) Kusāvati (V, p. 294), (13) Magadha (VI, p. 236), (14) Aṅga (V, p. 317), (15) Videha (VI, p. 221), (16) Dasaṇṇaka (VI, p. 238), (17) Goyāniya (VI, p. 278), (18) Assaka (III, p. 6), (19) Vaṃsa (VI, p. 236), (20) Avanti (V, p. 317), (21) Kaliṅga (III, p. 6) and a few others.

The spread of Vedic culture undoubtedly brought the people of these kingdoms under common social institutions and religion but the want of a paramount authority at the centre fostered a feeling of jealousy among these kings and caused them to fight one another and annex the dominions of the weaker ones whenever possible. Even then, although on the assumption of extraordinary powers some king established sovereignty over others and sought to form an empire (ekarajjam) with their kingdoms such an attempt eventually resulted more in the disintegration of the annexed dominions than in their unification, perhaps due to the inherent weakness in the system of government itself. Conflicts between the kings of different states became events of daily occurrence while common people were so much inured to these vicissitudes that they carried on their daily avocations without being much affected by them. A more powerful king of a certain state if he conquered another state was seldom opposed by its people who believed that

[1] Jātaka Gleanings on Ancient Indian Sociology have already been published. *Vide* C. R., Sept.-Oct., 1931.

victory went with him who was better fitted to govern and had superior virtues.

> Nanu te sutaṃ brāhmaṇa bhaññamāne
> devā na issanti purisaparakkamassa
> damo samādhi manaso adejjho
> avyaggatā nikkamanañ ca kāle
> dalhañ ca viriyam purisaparakkamo ca
> ten' eva āsi vijayo Assakānan ti
>
> —p. 7, III.

The above was the general feeling of the people of Kalinga at the victory obtained by the king of Assakas over their king and it meant that gods never feel jealous of (help) the man who is energetic. The king of Assakas therefore, became victorious having superior virtues such as self-restraint, concentration, unwavering mind, unity of purpose and action at the right time, strength, energy and perseverance.

The kingdom of Benares which in the Buddha's time existed as a vassal territory first under the suzerainty of Kosala and secondly under Magadha, appears in the Jātakas to have attained its highest glory and power dominating even over the kingdoms of Assakas, Avanti, Magadha and Aṅga (V, p. 317). We hear of a king of Benares laying siege to the town of Takkasilā in Gandhāra with a view to extending the borders of his dominion though he was unsuccessful (II, p. 217). The kingdom of Madda having Sāgala as its capital was again the scene of contention among several chiefs who vied with one another in seeking the hands of the fair princess Prabhāvatī who had returned to her father's palace at Sāgala to effect the dissolution of her marriage with Prince Kusa of Kusāvati (V, p. 294). Again, Videha, the paramount ruler of Magadha was exciting the envy of Pañchāla (Kampilla raṭṭha) who after a series of tactics employed against his rival for capturing him eventually fell into his hands (VI, pp. 424-45).[1]

The desire for conquest in a rising monarch was mainly to establish his supremacy over others in spirituality by 'ekarajjaṃ'

[1] For a fuller description of these states, *vide* Dr. Raychaudhuri's 'Political History of Ancient India,' dwelling on 'Sixteen Mahājanapadas,' pp. 59-100.

or universal monarchy in India (Jambu-dipa) rather than to satisfy his greed for wealth accruing out of the annexed kingdoms. The idea was more of a religious character than political and had its origin in the example of Indra in heaven.[1] In many instances the vassal kings were left practically untouched on mere acknowledgment of submission while they enjoyed their kingdoms as freely as ever, provided they agreed to help their overlord in times of war. The vassal kings of Pañcāla are referred to in the Ummagga Jātaka in the following words:

Conquest for universal monarchy.

Ath.'etth' ekasataṃ khatyā anuyuttā yasassino
Aacchinnaraṭṭhā vyathitā Pañcālīnaṃ vasaṃ gatā
Yaṃvadā takkarā rañño akāmā piyabhāṇino
Pañcālam anuyāyanti akāmā vasino gatā

—p. 397, VI.

Acquirement of fame and its diffusion were the objects for achieving universal monarchy which being attained a king's mission was said to have been fulfilled.

Cāturanto mahāraṭṭho vijitāvī mahabbalo
Pathavyā *ekarājāsi yaso te vipulaṃ gato*

—p. 476, VI.

The advantages of a united kingdom were also not lost sight of, it being generally felt that the subjects of a universal monarch were perpetually happy and contented.

Sace ca *rājā paṭhaviṃ* vijetvā
Sajīvavā assavā pārisajjo
Sayaṃ eva so sattusaṃghaṃ vijeyya
Tassa *eva pajā niccasukhā* bhaveyya

—p. 214, VI.

In not a few cases matrimonial alliances played a prominent part in the formation and consolidation of an empire where the father-in-law became the suzerain and sons-in-law, already kings

[1] Sa tādiso bhumipati raṭṭhapālo akodhano
Sāmantesampakampeti Indo va asūrādhipo ti (p. 248 V).

of their own territories, his vassals forming the units of the empire. The rājā of Madda had seven daughters besides Prabhāvatī and each was given to one of the contending chiefs who laid siege to Madda while Prabhāvatī was restored to her husband Prince Kusa of Kusāvati who had by his superhuman valour saved her life from their wrath. It was at his suggestion that Madda came to be recognised as their common overlord.

> Imā te dhitaro satta devakaññā samā subhā
> dadāhi tesaṃ ekekaṃ hontu jāmātāro tavan'ti
> Amhākañ ca eva tāsañ ca tvaṃ no sabbesam issaro
> *tvañ ñeva no mahārājā* dehi nesaṃ yad icchasī'ti."
>
> —p. 311, V.

Pañcāla was similarly reconciled to Videha through matrimony:

> Iṃgha passa mahārāja suññaṃ antepuraṃ tava
> orodhā ca kumārā ca tava mātā ca khattiya
> ummaggā nīharitvāna Vedehass' upanāmitā ti
>
> —p. 455, VI.

Each of these states under the rule of an independent monarch was denominated a '*raṭṭha*' of which the principal constituent parts were (1) *janapada*[1] or the villages and (2) *nigama* or the city, *i.e.*, the urban portion. Large tracts of forests or groups of mountains which were no man's land being resorts of rishis, formed generally the boundaries of these states that were seldom conterminant.

Divisions of the State.

> "Mahārukkhūpamaṃ *raṭṭham* dhammena yo pasāsati
> rasañ c' assa vijānāti *raṭṭhañ* c' assa na nassati"
> yo rājā *janapadam* adhammena pasāsati
> *Sabbosadhīhi* so rājā viruddho hoti khattiyo
> Tath' va *negame* hiṃsaṃ ye yuttā kayavikkaye
> Ojadānabalīkare sa *kosena* virujjhatī ti
>
> —p. 243, V.

[1] Janapada is also found used in the sense of 'raṭṭha,' a kingdom; *cf.* Brahmadatto Kāsirājā Dīghītissa Kosalarañño balañ ca vāhanañ ca *janapadañ* ca kosañ ca koṭṭhāgārañ ca abhivijiya ajjhāvasati—p. 342, M. V., Ch. X.

'Assamas' or hermitages appear forming the boundaries of a 'janapada' in the following passage:

> Phitaṃ *janapadaṃ gantvā* hatthinā ca rathena ca
> dārusaṃghāṭayānena evaṃ gaccha Naḷiniye
> Kadalidhajapaññāṇo ābhujiparivārano
> eso *padissati rammo Isisiṅgassa assamo*
>
> —pp. 194, 195, V.

Thus, the villages constituting the 'janapada' formed the major portion of the state, mostly inhabited by cultivators who regularly supplied the king with corns while the city was the market-town where articles of various kinds were sold by artisans paying a part of the sale-proceeds to the state as a tax.[1] The king, who it is said misruled his 'janapada' went short of grains (sabbosadhīhi so rājā viruddho hoti) and when he harassed his 'nigama,' suffered from want of funds (negame hiṃsaṃ...sa kosena virujjhati).

General features of the 'nigama.'

The 'pura' or 'nigama'[2] was in the shape of a large citadel surrounded by a moat (parikhā) encircling the wall or the embankment which stood protecting the city with many gates (uddāpasampannaṃ bahupākāratoranaṃ). To these gates were attached large doors which could be easily bolted at night from inside (palikhaṃ aggalāni). An 'esikā' or an 'indakhila' generally known as the city gate-pillar stood before each gate at each cardinal point of the compass—a custom which continued as late as the erection of the gateways round the Stupas of Bharhut and Sañchi towards the beginning of the Christian era. The posting of a pillar before each gate was considered an auspicious sign associated with Indra. The Buddha referred to the gateway pillars in the following gāthā:

> Yath' indakhilo pathaviṃ sito siyā
> Catubi vātehi asampakampiyo
> Tathūpamaṃ sappurisaṃ vadāmi
> Yo ariyasaccāni avecca passati
>
> —Ratana Suttaṃ.

[1] The tax levied amounted to one-sixth or one-tenth as the case might be, of the total yield (chabbhāgadasabhāgādibhedaṃ baliṃ karonti—Jāt. Com., V, p. 244).

[2] A resident of a city was styled a 'negamo.' *Cf.* 'Rājagahako negamo,'—p. 268, M. V., Ch. VII.

'I call him a good man who discerns the four noble truths and is firm like the city-gate pillar which is well-fastened in the ground and is unshakable by winds coming from the four quarters.' Roads were laid out on a definite plan and where they crossed each other there were parks (simghāṭakesu bhumiyo). On these roads houses and shops were erected in accordance with the sites they stood upon (paṇṇasālāyo vibhattā bhāgaso mitā), each house having a courtyard abutting on the road (nivesane nivese ca sandhibbūhe patatthiyo, p. 276, VI). They were generally occupied by musicians, dancers, artists, ale-house managers, prostitutes, acrobats, florists, goldsmiths, etc., who by their activities and merriments kept the whole city constantly astir day and night (pp. 276, 277, VI).

It would thus appear that the city which, for all practical purposes, was a citadel meant for the safe and comfortable residence of the king and his courtiers, had also to serve the object of a fête to afford amusements to all who came there to transact business from villages, besides being itself a place of interest for the aristocracy and the army which permanently resided there. In times of war, it was the city which formed the target of an advancing foe and with its fall the whole kingdom was conquered.

King represented the head of government and society.

The king was held responsible not only for good government in his state but also for the virtues and vices of his subjects who were supposed to follow his example in their everyday lives.

Gavañ ce taramānānaṃ ujuṃ gacchati puñgavo
sabbā tā ujuṃ gacchanti nette ujugate sati
Evaṃ evaṃ manussesu yo hoti seṭṭhasammato
So ce pi dhammaṃ carati pag eva itarā pajā
Sabbam raṭṭhaṃ sukhaṃ seti rājā ce, hoti dhammiko

—p. 242, V.

Far from being above law, the king was blamable for the woes and miseries of his people, who however seldom urged his removal and calmly reconciled themselves to their lots even in extreme trouble and agony.

In all his acts with regard to the state the king was guided, in a certain measure, by the advice of Brahmin ministers whose number generally depended on the portfolios of government. In most cases the number was three, one for spiritual, one for temporal and the third for conducting military affairs. Their general designation was 'amacca' while the especial appellations of the first and the last were 'purohita' and 'senāpati' respectively.

Ministers are an advisory body only.

ahu rājā Vedehānaṃ Aṃgāti nāma khattiyo
pahutayoggo dhanimā anantabalapariso
so ca pannarasiṃ rattiṃ purime yāme anāgate
cātumassa komudiyā *amacce* sannipātayi :
Paṇḍitasutasampanne mihitapubbe vicakkhaṇe
Vijayañ ca *Sunāmañ* ca *senāpatiṃ Alātakaṃ*

—p. 221, VI.

As will appear from the above Aṃgāti, the king of Videha, had three ministers, Vijaya, Sunāma and Alātaka, the last being designated Senāpati. Another king of Videha had five ministers headed by Mahosadha whose main work was to devote himself to philosophical problems and help the king in the administration of justice and also to devise ways and means for the safety of the kingdom and the royal person in the capacity of a Senapati (Pañcapaṇḍitapañha, pp. 371-389, VI). There were again ten 'paṇḍitas,' a very common designation of 'amaccas,' as advisers to the king of Pañcāla whose mother also, we are told, acted as a minister, in all making the number eleven.

'Das' ettha paṇḍitā ahu bhuripaññā rahogamā
mātā ekādasi rañño Pañcāliyam pasaṃsati

—p. 396, VI.

On the other hand, there was only one minister named Vidhura Paṇḍita in the kingdom of Kuru who supervised all the affairs of the state under its king Dhanañjaya.

These ministers were selected by the king himself from among the best intellects of the kingdom. It was therefore natural that the Brahmins generally held the office with much credit and success which descended from father to son. The

king who thus freely chose his ministers dispensed with their services whenever he found it expedient either in the interest of his state or in his own. Infidelity in them was punished with death.

> Pañño *bajjho Mahosadho* ti
> ānatto me badhāya bhuripañño
> taṃ cintayamāno dummano 'smi
> na hi devi aparādho atthi tuyhan ti

—p. 384, VI.

Remuneration of ministers.

For their services rendered to the state, the ministers got as remuneration villages together with cows, chariots, elephants, etc., according to their merits and the degree of confidence they could produce in themselves. The king of Videha conferred gifts upon his minister Mahosadha who had just satisfied him with a suitable answer to his query in the following words:

> Yaṃ taṃ apucchiṃha akittayi no
> Mahosadham kevaladhammadassi
> gavaṃ sahassaṃ usabhañ ca nāgam
> ājaññyutte ca rathe dasā ime
> pañhassa veyyākaraṇena tuṭṭho
> *dadāmi te gāmavarāni* solasā ti

—p. 363, VI.

In addition to these gifts of villages, etc., they also received salaries and food.

> Vuttiñ ca parihārañ ca diguṇaṃ *bhattavetanam*
> dadāmi vipule bhoge bhuñja kāme ramassu ca

—p. 461, VI.

Vidhura Paṇḍita, the minister of king Dhanañjaya of Kuru while exhorting his own kinsmen before his departure for Nāga-loka stressed the importance of cultivating fidelity and humility in all their acts and manners shown before the king who actually showered on them all the necessaries and comforts of life even like the god of the sky raining down on the earth.

Kumbhaṃ pañjalin kariyā vāyasaṃ va padakkhinaṃ
Kim eva *sabbakāmānaṃ dātāram* dhiram uttamam
Yo deti sayanaṃ vatthaṃ yānaṃ āvasathaṃ gharaṃ
Pajjunno-r-iva bhutāni bhogehi-m-abhivassati

—p. 298, VI.

From the extract above, there can be little doubt as to the fact that the person of the king was considered very sacred and the homage he received went nothing short of deification, while the reference to Pajjuṇṇa, god of the sky who in post-Vedic times was eclipsed by Indra, warrants its antiquity to be of Vedic age or an age not far remote from it.

Bankers also king's servants.

Besides the ministers over whom the king had full control there were the treasurers called 'Gahapatis' or Seṭṭhis wrongly translated as householders, who were also considered as king's men. In Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka (No. 5 42) we find that the king of Pupphavati (an ancient name of Benares) wanted on the advice of his 'purohita' Khaṇḍahāla to perform a human sacrifice the victims of which were to be chosen from among his own men comprising his sons, ministers and 'gahapatis,' as he was led to believe that such an act on his part would ensure his entrance into heaven. Orders were therefore given to these people to assemble at the appointed place and be prepared for death.

Gahapatayo pi vadetha Puṇṇamukhaṃ
Bhaddiyaṁ Singālañca
Vaddhan cāpi gahapatiṃ ;
pasurā kira hotha yaññatthāyā ti

—p. 135, VI.

It is therefore not improbable that a major portion of the king's wealth was invested in the capital of these treasurers whose fortune rested on the profit accruing from it. It might also be,—a more plausible argument—that these 'gahapatis' were king's own creations [1] to be subjected to any kind of treatment he was pleased to mete out to them as occasion demanded.

[1] *Cf.* 'A very poor man was appointed by the king as Lord Treasurer.'—Jātaka No. 109, Dr. B. C. Sen.

In total disregard of the size of the kingdom which generally comprised villages to the number not below fifty or sixty thousand, the great fact that emanates from the Jātakas is, that the king himself undertook to conduct the business of the whole state.

Administrative functions belonged to the king while executive ones belonged to his officers.

Satthi gāmasahassāni paripuṇṇāni sabbaso
te putta paṭipajjassu rajjaṁ neyyādayāmī te—p. 258, V.

He was solely responsible for the administration of justice in his kingdom, for the purpose of which he set apart a portion of his palace-hall and himself sat in judgment over the numerous suits brought in by his subjects who had free access thereto. A certain court-fee was levied on each suit and the revenue thus collected went to swell his coffer.

Evaṁ evaṁ manussesa vivādo yattha yāyati
Dhammaṭṭhaṁ patidhāvanti; so he nesaṁ vināyako
dhanāpi tattha jīyanti rājakoso ca vaḍḍhatī ti—p. 336, III.

The Jātaka verses do not permit us to accept the view that apart from the king there were other judges appointed by the state to try these cases and they are distinctly silent on this point, noting in particular that the king himself tried them even when fondling his child seated on the lap.

Ucchange maṃ nisīdetvā *pitā atth' ānusāsati*
ekaṃ hanatha, badhatha ekam
khārāpatacchikam
ekaṃ sūlasmiṃ accetha, icc-assa-ṃ-anusāsati—p. 17, VI.

However severe these sentences might be they were no doubt imposed in accordance with the established usage of the penal laws and not through any whim of the ruler who followed these laws in letter and spirit (Anusāsanī, p. 113, V).

Though at times he depended on the advice of his ministers in perplexing situations, their appointment, as of other royal officers, was chiefly made with a view to executing his orders.

Mahāmattā ca ma atthi *mantino paricārakā*
Bārānasiṃ voharanti bahumaṃsasurodakam—p. 134, IV.

"I have in my service," observes a king of Benares, "mahāmattas (ministers of royal blood, generally brothers of the king 'rājabhātikā mahāpaññā mantesu kusalā mahāmaccā' J. Com.), ministers and others who have kept Benares free from all dangers with the result that business has flourished and its people have become prosperous."

Those officers of the king who were appointed to see to the needs of the people and collect taxes from them were called 'yuttas' and 'tuṇḍiyas.' They had the notoriety of being mostly oppressive and unreliable, thereby increasing all the more the necessity of the king to see and do things himself.

> Sayam janapadaṃ atthaṃ anusāsa rethesabha
> mā te *adhammikā yuttā* dhanaṃ
> raṭṭhaṃ ca nāsayuṃ—p. 117, V.

Regarding the 'tuṇḍiyas' common people observed:

> Rattimhi corā khādanti divā *khādanti tuṇḍiyā*
> raṭṭhasmiṃ kuḍḍarājassa
> bahu adhammikā janā—p. 102, V.

These 'tuṇḍiyas' who were appointed to collect taxes from the people on pain of death or imprisonment (vadhabandhanādi-hipiletvā balisādhakā) oppressed them to such an extent that they were likened unto the thieves who carried on their depredations at night.

Gāmanis—administrators of villages.

Although we are told of the direct control of the state by the king with a certain number of men under him, it is idle to believe that these were sufficient to cope with the works of administration of all the departments of government, controlling no less than sixty thousand villages. To work such a constitution with any degree of success an individual, be he a king of exceptional capacity would appear as performing something like a miracle. But the fact was not so. On a closer examination we find that the villages had each a headman called gāmani (gāmajeṭṭhaka,—p. 311, V) on whom devolved the principal functions of an administrator. Having permitted slaughter of animals to take place at

a Soma-sacrifice and the people of a village to indulge in the drinking of spirituous liquors the 'gāmabhojakas' or the 'gāmanis' of the respective villages regret afterwards:

Pānātipātam akarum somayāge upatthite
tes' āham samanuññāsiṃ
tena pacchā vijigucchiṃ taṃ pāpaṃ
pakataṃ mayā
Surāmerayamadhukā ye janā paṭham' āsu no
bahunnaṃ te anatthā majjapāṇam akappayuṃ
tes' āham samanuññāsiṃ
etc. etc.

—pp. 116, 117, IV.

The passages cited above at least furnish one proof that the village headman known as the gāmaṇi or the gāmabhojaka as he is called in prose had the fullest control over the public affairs of the village. 'In the Vedic period the Gāmaṇi (Grāmaṇī) was the key-stone of the village-constitution. The villages even took to themselves the name of their leader (Grāmaṇī).' (Hindu Polity, p. 15.) Therefore, it would not be difficult to understand that the work of village construction or of directing its affairs and the settlement of local disputes were primarily matters for his concern. He held a seat in the village next to that of the king himself surrounded by friends and flatterers and living as he did constantly in pomp and power he had only to apprehend danger from the sovereign apparently for any neglect of duty that was imposed on him. To this the testimony of the Jātakas is borne by the undermentioned words of a hermit of the forest who refers to the luxury of the gāmaṇis as a positive danger to his asceticism that might befall him if he stole the lily-stalks of a certain Brahmin (Bhisa Jātaka, No. 488).

So gāmaṇī hotu sahāya majjhe
naccehigītehi pamodamāno
mā *rājato vyasanam* alattha kiñci
bhisāni te brāhmaṇa yo ahāsi

—p. 310, IV.

It is very difficult to state exactly the relationship which existed between the king and the gāmaṇis. Whether or not these village headmen were elected by the villagers from among themselves or they were creations of the king for some acts of merit performed by by them it is not very easy to ascertain. We hear of Brahmins who were recipients of villages from a king on account of their display of spiritual or intellectual powers by which they won his admiration and special favour. Not only villages but also along with villages gifts of other things such as gold coins, maidservants, cows and even wives were made in the following words:

The relationship between gāmaṇis and the king.

Dadāmi te gāmavarāni pañca
dāsisataṃ satta gavaṃ satāni
paro sahassañ ca suvaṇṇanikkhe
bhariyā ca te sādisī dve dadāmi

—p. 99, IV.

In India merit seldom went unrecognised by her people, moreover we had occasion to refer to the fact that merit was the criterion by which people in society were judged. (Jātaka Gleanings on Sociology ; Calcutta Review, September and October, 1931.) Gāmaṇis are also described as ācariyas or teachers of various military professions such as of fighting while riding elephants, horses or chariots, etc., as the case might be (hatthācariya, assācariya or rathika—p. 260, V) and to be closely associated with the king.

' Saṭṭhi nāgasahassāni sabbālaṃkāra bhusītā
Suvaṇṇakacchā mātaṅgā hemakappanavāsasā
Ārūḷhā *gāmaṇīychi* tomaraṃ kusapānihi—
te putta paṭipajjassu, rajjam niyyādayāmi te

—p. 258, V.

And, it is a truism that whether a gāmaṇi be a ' Brāhmin ācariya' devoting his life to the pursuit of pure art or an ācariya of some other caste adept in the art of warfare, he would command respect of every one in the village and be its lord under the

patronage of the king extended to him in the manner as stated above.

It also appears from Mahā Janaka Jātaka, No. 532, that being seated on their respective posts it was customary for the 'gāmanis' to follow the king when he toured his kingdom.

> Kadāssu maṃ hatthigumbā sabbālaṃkārabhusitā
> Suvaṇṇakacchā mātaṅgā hemakappanavāsasā
> Ārūlhā *gāmaṇīyehi* tomaraṃ kusapāṇihi
> *Yantaṃ maṃ nānuyissanti*, taṃ kadāssu bhavissati
>
> —p. 49, VI.

It is very unlikely that the Brahmin ācariyas who were recipients of royal benefactions would on these occasions be called upon to serve as body-guards of the king.

It therefore naturally follows that the 'gāmanis' were exactly those village headmen proficient in their respective occupations who were in close touch with the king to render him services on particular occasions.

It becomes also clear that the 'gāmanis' were not only peoples' representatives but also kings' favourites regularly enjoying certain revenues raised from their respective villages to be able to live perpetually in pomp and luxury—a state which was certainly the negation of asceticism as is said to have been observed by a hermit sage (p. 310, IV).

We shall be excused here if to make the matter more clear we digress for a moment into the sphere of the Vinaya literature which is equally, if not more strongly, held in esteem as an authority on ancient Indian history and culture. From the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka (Oldenberg's Edition, p. 179) we learn that king Bimbisāra had a council of eighty thousand village headmen hailing from eighty thousand villages he had within his kingdom and that he taught these village-heads the laws of the land.

"Asītyā gāmasahassesu issarādhipaccam rajjam kāreti. *Rājā Māgadho* Seniyo Bimbisāro tāni asitiṃ *gāmikasahasssāni diṭṭhadhammike atthe anusāsītvā uyyojesi.*"

—M. V., p. 179.

Again, they were called upon to assemble by the order of the king: 'Kenacid eva karaṇīyena tāni asitim *gāmikasahassāni sannipātāpetvā* Sonassa Kolivisassa santike dūtam pāhesi.'

In this way, the villages were co-ordinated through their respective heads who thriving under royal favour wielded almost the same influence on the people as the king himself who again took particular care to instruct them in the laws of the state at the meetings of the council.

Thus, all the villages in the state had each a gāmani who need not be confounded with the recipient of several villages for his display of exceptional talents before the king. The gāmanis, therefore, were not the entire masters of villages but their administrators though enjoying limited powers under the sovereign of the land and their importance even in the time of Bimbisāra, a typical monarch of Magadha, only points out their pre-eminence in much earlier times when monarchy and democracy had not as yet arisen out of the original system. In regard to the representative character of the gāmanis from the very Vedic period Prof. Jayaswal's statement in his 'Hindu Polity' may be read with advantage. The learned Professor observes, 'We already find in the Vedic period the principle of representation appreciated and variously acted upon; we have the Grāmani or the leader of the town or village as a representative personage in the coronation ceremony'—(p. 14). Dependence on the elder and his duty to protect his people were at the very foundation of society and admittedly constituted the key-note of politics in ancient India.[1]

King's forces.

In spite of the support coming from the gāmanis either voluntarily or on compulsion, the king did not depend on them for the preservation of his throne and the defence of his kingdom or when attacking his foe. He constantly maintained a standing army composed of elephahts, horses, chariots and infantry who were regularly fed and paid from the state revenue.

Hatthāruhā anīkaṭṭhā rathikā pattikārikā
tesu na-paṭibaddhāmi *nibaddhambhattavetanaṃ*
—p. 134, IV.

[1] Mātāpitā ca bhātā ca bhaginī *ñātibandhavā*
sabbe jeṭṭhassa te bhārā evaṃ jānāhi Bhārata—V, p. 326.

The state revenue, we are told, consisted both in coins kept in the treasury and in agricultural produce stored in the king's granary (kosa and koṭṭhagāra). The source of the former was the city and that of the latter, the village. His affluent condition as indicated by the filling up of both was an index of the fulfilment of his mission and became generally a prelude to his renunciation.

Treasury and granary.

Koso mayham vipulo
Koṭṭhāgārañ ca mayham paripuraṇ
paṭhavi ca mayham vijitā
naṃ hitvā pabbajissāmîti
—p. 184, V.

As related in the Jātakas the principal royal virtue seems to have been this, that in the midst of his thousand and one duties the king consoled himself by thinking that he might renounce the world at the first sign of old age (p. 804, V). Covetousness and luxury had no place in his character which was guided by the principles of justice and equity only.

Gold mines and mints for the production of coins of various denominations were in existence and very closely guarded against the approach of common people who courted danger if they came in their vicinity.

Mines and mints.

Goṭṭhaṃ majjaṃ kirāsaṃ vā
Sabhāni kiraṇāni ca
ārakā parivajjehi yañ eva *visamaṃ pathan ti* —p. 223, IV.

Gold coins are frequently referred to in connection with gifts made by the king and were known as 'nikkha' being coins of the highest denomination as they were made of the finest gold then known in India (Nekkham jambonadassiva ko tam ninditum arhati—Dh Pada Gatha, No. 230). The gift of 'Kāsipati' included among others 'nekkhas' as will appear from the following 'gāthā':

Dadāmi te gāmavarāni pañca
dāsisataṃ satta gavaṃ satāni
paro *sahassañ ca suvaṇṇanikkhe*
bhariyā ca te sādisī dve dadāmi—p. 99, IV.

An estimate of his wealth may be gathered from the fact that he could easily part with a thousand gold coins along with other gifts of no mean value in order to please a Brahmin for all he was worth as referred to in the above gāthā.

Royal benefactions in the shape of endowments.

Not only the king made gifts to deserving people from time to time, but also he regularly made endowments in the cause of righteousness and did all that was needful for their perpetuation. One of the main instructions which he received from sages of the forest whom he sought for advice in times of difficulties, was to establish in his kingdom endowments in the cause of Dhamma.

'Dhammaṃ baliṃ paṭṭhapayassu rāja'—p. 399, IV.

The feeding of samaṇas, meaning those who had renounced the world and were practising a holy life under some recognised teacher and of Brahmins, *i. e.*, those who were ācariyas and were devoted to learning and teaching, constituted an act of piety which the king was advised constantly to perform. They were therefore entertained at his palace after being invited by royal messengers sent to diverse quarters for the purpose.

Dutā vidhāvantu disā catasso
nimantakā samaṇabrāhmanānaṃ
—p. 399, IV.

Mode of espionage.

Espionage was not unknown but very rarely resorted to by kings. It was the minister responsible for the safety of the king's person who successfully carried out its operation not by men but, we are told, through birds belonging to the species of suvas (*parrots*) and sālikas (*mina*).

Tato ca so apakkamma Vedehassa upantikā
atha āmantaya dūtaṃ Māṭharaṃ *suvapaṇḍitam*
Ehi samma harīpakkha veyyāvaccaṃ karohi me
Atthi Pañcālarājassa *sālikā sayanapālikā*
Taṃ pattharena pucchassu sā hi sabbassa kovidā
Sā tesaṃ sabbam jānāti rañño ca kosiyassa ca
—p. 418, VI.

It will be evident from the above extract that the 'suva' was sent by Videha to the kingdom of a rival king Pañcāla with a view to ascertain his policy underlying his invitation proposing the former's marriage with his daughter. No spy seems to have been appointed to watch the movements or the careers of the subjects within the kingdom.

The administration of the land practically remaining in the hands of the 'grāmanis' it is not to be wondered at that over and above his multifarious works which the king imposed on himself attending the diverse functions of his state he could find time to disport along with his wives who numbered several hundreds. Of course, to have more than one wife was not an uncommon practice at that time. Every man of position had hundreds of wives who were treated more or less like chattel. No better treatment could be expected in the case of king's wives though regarding their fidelity even in times of extreme despair and distress the jātakas, *i.e.*, the verses, have not raised a single question. In the event of the king's renouncing the world for the life of a hermit the lamentations of these ladies knew no bounds:

King's harem.

Tā sattasatā *bhariyā*
Sabbālaṅkārabhūsitā
bāhā paggayha pakkandum
'Kasmā no vijahissasi'

—p. 53, VI (Mahā Janaka Jātaka).

Those seven hundred wives adorned with all kinds of ornaments cried with extended hands saying 'why dost thou forsake us.' Evidently they were not blamable.

Questioned by a sage as to how he was faring with his wives the king of Kāsi replied, 'Yes, my wives are all after my liking being taintless and possessing a sweet voice, beauty and fame. They are mothers of sons and are obedient to my will.'—

Atho me sādisī bhariyā assavā piyabhāṇini
puttarūpayasūpetā mama chandavasānugā

—p. 377, V.

To use the word harem for the apartments they lived in is a mistake as its very idea was then unknown and perhaps revolting. The wives were perfectly free to move about in every part of the palace in the midst of all the attendants of the king. Whether it be in his palace (pasāda), bedroom (kuṭāgāra = Sattaratana vicittasayana kuṭāgāragabbha), garden (udyāna), Kanninnikā-grove (Dannikāvana), Pātali-grove (pāṭali-vana), Mango garden (ambavana), tank (pokkhārani), etc., wherever the king rested or walked he was accompanied by his wives.

Yamhi-m-anuvicari rājā
parikiṇṇo itthāgārehi

—pp. 187-90, V.

We however fail to appreciate the propriety of the king's conduct when he dedicates his 'itthāgāra' (a host of women) to his successor, be he a stranger or his son, in the event of his retirement to which part of his character might justly be ascribed the downfall of many a monarchy in ancient India.

Paññāyihihinti etā
daharā, aññaṃ (rājānaṃ) pi tā gamissanti

—p. 178, V.

Or again,

Itthāgāraṃ pi te dammi sabbālaṃkārabhūsitaṃ
tā putta paṭipajjassu, tvaṃ no rājā
bhavissasi '

—p. 25, VI.

There is evidence however that a wide distinction was maintained between the chief queen[1] whose son generally became the successor and the other wives of the king who served him more or less like concubines.

1 Generally daughters of kings (paṭirāja kaññā), p. 25, VI.

2 *Cf.* Position of Wives in Society—Jātaka Gleanings on Sociology.—C. R., Oct., 1931.

It would now appear from what we have stated before that the king possessing as he did the full advantages of a standing army, a treasury and a store-house, was a perfect autocrat whose authority there were none to question. But, though, constitutionally he was an autocrat, in practice he was overruled by the combined will of the subjects and, as was generally the case, was guided by a code of discipline that was in conformity with the three Vedas called ' Khattiya manta ' or ' Rāja-vinaya.'

A code for the guidance of kings.

> Khattiya-mantā ca tayo ca vedā
> atthena ete samakā bhavanti
>
> —p. 214, VI.

We are told in the texts about the existence of a ' Vinaya ' which was a code of rules for the guidance of kings to which they generally conformed. The king of Videha had the reputation of being devoted to ' Vinaya.'

> Upasaṃkamitvā Vedehaṃ vanditvā
> *Vinaye ratam*
>
> —p. 231, VI.

The king of Gandhāra who became a mendicant remarked with regard to the unbecoming conduct of the king of Videha who also having become a monk came into contact with him as follows:

> No ce assa sakā buddhi *vinaye vā susikkhito*
> vane andhamahiso va careyya bahuko jano
> Yasmā ca pan ' idha ekacce ācārambhi susikkhitā
> tasmā *viditavinayā* caranti susamāhitā
>
> —p. 368. III.

So also a swan king when caught reminded the king of men, its captor, of the rules of Vinaya in justification of its conduct:

> Ahaṃ khalu mahārāja nāgarājā-r-iv-antaraṃ
> paṭivattuṃ na sakkomi, na me *so vinayo siyā*
>
> —p. 351, V.

That there was a code of discipline under the designation of Vinaya comprising the rules of conduct for kings is clearly evident from the above extracts.

We have in the Vidhura Pandita Jātaka (No. 545) an enumeration of the several rules of conduct under the title 'rājavasati' meant for the observance of all who were in the service of the king not excluding even ministers. Vidhura Paṇḍita taught all his kinsmen friends and sons to follow them in letter and spirit when living in the court (pp. 292-98, VI).

These instructions regarding 'Rājavasati' or the life to be led when serving the king, contain a set of very interesting rules all centring round the cultivation of humility, loyalty and devotion to the throne. Although these rules are more or less idealistic still they never fail to disclose the relative position of the king in society that had deified him for all practical purposes.

Instructions meant for the observance of kings lie scattered in the text and a few of them might be quoted here to show their nature and the kind of government then in vogue. Tesakuna Jātaka (521) briefly puts Raja-dharma in a few verses given below:

In the first place, the king must be diligent, energetic and persevering in all his acts. His friends he must please and tease his enemies:

> So appamato akkuṭṭho tāta kiccāni kāraye
> vāyamassu ca kiccesu, nālaso vindate sukhaṃ
> Tatth'eva te *vattapadā* esā ca *anusāsanī*
> alaṃ mitte sukhāpetuṃ amittānaṃ dukhāya cā ti
>
> —p. 113, V.

The Jātaka next sums up Rāja-dharma as follows:

> Dve va tāta padakāni yesu sabbaṃ patiṭṭhitaṁ |
> aladdhassa ca yo lābho laddhassa anurakkhanā ||
> Amacce tāta jānāhi dhīre *atthassa kovide* |
> anakkh'ākitave tāta asoṇḍe avināsake ||
> Te ca taṃ tāta rakkheyya dhanaṃ yañc' eva te siyā |
> suto va rathaṃ saṃgaṇhe so te kiccāni kāraye ||

Susaṃgahītantạjano sayaṃ cittaṃ avekkhiya |
nidhiñ ca iṇadānañ ca na kare parapattiyā ||
Sayaṃ āyavayaṃ jaññā sayaṃ jaññā katākataṇ |
nigganhe niggahārahaṃ pagganhe paggahārahaṃ ||
Sayaṃ jānapadaṃ atthaṃ anusāsa rathesabha |
mā te adhammikā yuttā dhanaṃ raṭṭhaṃ ca nāsayuṃ ||
Mā ca vegena kiccāni kāresi kārayesi vā |
vegasā hi kataṃ kammaṃ mandŏ pacchānutappati ||
Mā te avisāre muñca subāḷhaṃ adhikodhitaṃ |
kodhasā hi bahū pi tā kulā akulataṃ gatā ||
Mā tāta issaro mhiti anatthāya patārayi |
itthīnaṃ purisānañ ca mā te āsi dukhundrayo ||
Apeta-lomahaṃsassa rañño kāmānusārino |
Sabba bhogā vinassanti, rañño taṃ vuccate aghaṃ ||
—pp. 116-17, V.

Two are the main factors on which everything relating to the government of a kingdom depends, *viz.*, the acquisition of what has not been obtained and the preservation of what has been gained. The ministers must be renowned for their wisdom and knowledge of administration. They must be grave, incapable of being bribed and not given to gambling. Whoever will be able to protect wealth belonging to the king even like the charioteer restraining his chariot, should be appointed in the service of the king. Himself knowing the minds of all, the king must keep in accord all the people of his palace and must not give wealth or loans for the benefit of others. He should know the income as well as the expenditure of his state and must be aware of his omission and commission. He should punish the guilty and reward the meritorious. He must himself administer the functions of his state so that his unrighteous employees may not destroy the kingdom or his wealth. Let no act of his be done or caused to be done in haste for regret often follows as a consequence, such hasty actions. When deciding cases the king must not give himself up to anger due to which many royal families have been destroyed in the past (p. 172, II, p. 267, V). In consideration of the fact that he is the head of all let him not be inclined to do harm to his people and bring suffering unto them. The king who seeks sensual

pleasures without caring for critics loses all his fortune. Such an act of his constitutes indeed his sin.

Finally, he was exhorted to practise piety not only with respect to his household, his ministers and his subjects but also in respect of birds and beasts, the doctrine which had great effect on the life and edicts of Emperor Asoka later on.

Dhammaṃ cara mahārāja migapakkhisu khattiya
idha dhammaṃ caritvāna rāja saggaṃ gamissasī

—p. 123, V.

Tribal government and origin of kingship.

These exhortations never remained a moral code of instructions only to be assented to by kings while others, more palatable ones, were to be followed in practice. In reality they were obeyed and literally carried out even at the risk of the king's person. Mahākapi Jātaka (No. 407, III) supplies us with an instance in point and its wide appreciation by people is proved by the fact that it forms the subject-matter of a bas-relief on a pillar of the railings of the Stupa of Bharhut in the S. E. quadrant.

Thus expresses the monkey king when asked why he had endangered his life to save the other monkeys of his tribe:

Rajāhaṃ issaro tesaṃ yuthassa parihārako
* * * *
Taṃ maṃ na tapate bandho vadho me na tapessati
Sukhaṃ āharitaṃ tesaṃ yesaṃ rajjaṃ akārayi
Esā te upamā rāja atthasandassanī katā
raññā raṭṭhassa yoggassa balassa nigamassa ca
sabbesam sukhaṁ eṭṭhabbaṃ khattiyena pajānatā

—p. 373, III.

King am I of my tribe to render support to it. I have brought to safety all over whom I ruled and now I shall not be sorry in the least if I am killed or thrown into prison. O king, I teach you by my own example that a king must bring happiness to all his subjects residing in the town or in the villages and to his army and servants as is well known to a Khattriya.

Originally the king was elected by the people and their choice went to the one who was best fitted to rule by reason of his superiority in strength, beauty and character. He was then crowned and made king with the address ' You are our king and lord ' as noted in the Taccha-sūkara Jātaka (No. 492).

Te su udumbaramūlasmiṃ, sukarā susamāgatā
Tacchakaṃ abhisiñciṃsu tvan no rājāsi issaro' ti
—p. 350, IV.

The same idea is prominent in the Uluka Jātaka (No. 270) wherein we find, first, that the need for a king was universally felt and, secondly, that he was elected from among his own people as in the matter of the election of the king from among the birds:

Sabbehi kira ñātihi kosiyo issaro kato
—p. 353, II.

It was after his 'abhiseka' or coronation that he became an object of adoration and not only was his person considered sacred but his descendants that would ascend the throne after him were equally loved and held in great esteem while his lineage caused great anxiety to the subjects when about to be extinct due to the barrenness of his queens.

Uḍḍayhatejanapado raṭṭhañ cā pi vinassati
ehi Nalinike gaccha, tam me Brāhmanaṃ
ānayā ti—p. 194, V.

In these words, the princess Nalini was sent to seek a Brahmin husband for procuring a son when in the absence of a male issue in the royal family the whole kingdom seemed to go to ruin and the country-folk were in great consternation.

In rare instances, the subjects exercised their ancient rights to dethrone a king when he behaved like a demon having lost all human faculties. We learn from Suta-soma Jataka (No. 537) that the king having contracted the habit of a man-eating ' Rakkhasa ' had to be deprived of his throne and exiled under the peoples' order served on him by the ' Senāpati: '

Evaṃ eva tuvaṃ dipadinda sunohi me
pabbājissanti taṃ raṭṭhā soṇḍamānavakaṃ
yathā—p. 468, V.

'Listen, O king of men, the subjects are driving you out of the kingdom like one that is drunk.'

But true to their conception of the divine right of a king,[1] the people seldom raised their voice of protest, much less thought of causing any injury to his person even under great suffering caused by his negligence or cruelty. When the king failed to discharge his primary duty to protect his subjects the utmost they felt justified in doing was to guard their own persons themselves.

Rājā vilumpate raṭṭhaṃ Brāhmaṇo ca purohito
Attaguttā viharatha jātaṃ saraṇato bhayaṃ
—p. 513, III.

And, in the majority of cases, the people had the fullest satisfaction of seeing that their trust was not misplaced. Kingship was not a very enviable post and in consideration of the loyalty of his subjects the duties and responsibilities of a king became all the greater and more exacting.

The king was practically the head of the people forming the society around him and though beset with innumerable troubles that attended his person he was ever busy in finding out ways and means for the best mode of government in accordance with the laws laid down by his predecessors. It was for this reason that he not only took into his own hands the reins of his government but had to walk about in disguise among his people to ascertain their real grievances and needs.

Upassutiṃ mahārāja raṭṭhe janapade cara
Tattha disvā ca sutvā ca tato taṃ paṭipajjāsī ti
—p. 100, V.

There is also evidence on record showing that a king, even in matrimonial matters relating to his family when he could with justice act arbitrarily without holding consultation with his

[1] This theory has been set forth in Chapter 59 of the 'Śānti Parvan.' *Vide* Carmichael Lectures (Lec. III, 1918) by Prof. Bhandarkar.

ministers or any other member of the state, was unwilling to settle the question himself being inclined to follow the advice given by them.

Yāva āmantaye ñātī mittê ca suhadaṃ janaṃ
anāmanta kataṃ kammaṃ taṃ pacchā—m—anutappatī

—p. 266, VI.

'Wait, till I hold consultation with my friends, well-wishers and acquaintances for a deed done without any consultation begets remorse.'

Tribal government yielding monarchy and democracy.

In making a review of all that we have said before we would not err if we held that although the king was the final authority, the centre of governnment was the village, *i.e.*, the control of the entire machinery of government was ultimately vested in the hands of the subjects. Their ideal man and guide was the king, want of virtues in whom foreboded his downfall and the inauguration of a new monarch but not of a different monarchy. The village people through their headmen carried on all the works of government themselves except that of the judiciary, after paying the king's servants a certain amount of tax either in coins or in the shape of agricultural produce that went to swell the royal treasury and the storehouse. Gāmanis or the village heads who were very proficient in their respective arts supervised these works while keeping themselves in close touch with the king whose principal business was administration of justice in consultation with the ministers when trying the cases arising in his kingdom. To perpetuate the deeds of piety the king also made proper endowments in the cause of religion, which might be taken to mean that he made provisions for the relief of the people whenever they were in distress. And, for the acquirement of virtue and eradication of sins—a great factor that made for the preservation of his throne—the king associated with the wise and the sages of the forest and himself practised the ten virtues as enumerated below, with the result that his entire kingdom

remained peaceful, his queens pure, obedient and lovely, the ministers faithful and no calamity befell his subjects:

Dānaṃ sīlaṃ pariccâgaṃ
ajjavaṃ maddavaṃ tapaṃ
akkodhaṃ avihimsañ ca
khantiñ ca avirodhanaṃ
Icc-ete kusale dhamme
ṭhite passām' attani
Tato me jāyate pīti
somanassañ c anappakam
—p. 378, V.

This is the picture, though by no means complete, of a state in its original simplicity as depicted in the Jātakas.

Gradually, society became more heterogeneous and its needs more and more complex. With their growth, this simplest form of tribal government, replete with the best characteristics of democracy and monarchy, yielded under different circumstances these very two different types in the Buddhistic period. The great apathy of kings for worldly pleasures and love of renunciation at a certain age were perhaps the main cause of dissolution of the tribal government and the rise of democracy in certain states [1] while love of power and control of subordinates led to the establishment of typical monarchies in others.

In the time of Buddha the states of Kosala, Magadha, Ujjeni, and Kosambi represented the monarchical type and the Sākyas, the Mallas, the Vejjians and a few others formed their own confederacies for carrying on the works of administration in their respective lands. We have in the 'Arthasastra' of Kautilya an elaborate scheme of the machinery of monarchical governments, while the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Pāli Buddhist canon contains the essentials of the republican government current in the confederacies after the manner of which the early Buddhist Saṃgha was built up.[2]

1 'The Vejjian confederation must have been organised after the fall of the royal houses of Videha.'—Dr. Raychaudhuri's 'Political History of Ancient India.'

2 *Vide* 'Carmichael Lectures,' No. IV, Feb., 1918, and the author's 'Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha,' C. R., Nov.-Dec., 1933, 'Success of Early Buddhist Sangha '—published by Jnan Belur Math, 4th June, 1929.

It so appears that the monarchical system as represented in the 'Arthasastra' practically ignored the 'gāmanis' who were relegated to a very unimportant position of having to look over the properties of bereaved minors till they attained their age and perhaps they laboured under mistrust [1] while all the important functions of administration were taken over by the king himself who had them carried out by superintendents having nothing to do with village leadership. Already in the time of king Bimbisāra, the administration of justice which constituted the principal office of the throne had become a transferred subject entrusted to the care of judges called Vohārika-Mahāmatta appointed for the purpose. (Vinaya Mahā Vagga, Ch. I, § 40.) The republican system was, on the other hand, a government by the village elders or grāmanis under the lead of a chief generally called a rāja chosen from among themselves. It was thus over this vital issue, *viz.*, in the matter of administration of villages by 'grāmanis,' that this ancient mode of government represented in the Jātakas bifurcated into two distinct types—monarchical and republican.

We now conclude our present discussion on pre-Buddhistic polity in so far as it is traceable in the Jātakas and in doing so we beg to tender a word of apology for this intrusion. In presenting these gleanings from the Jātakas the antiquity of which is above all controversy, it is not our object to write a work on ancient Indian polity—a subject which has been very ably tackled by such eminent scholars as Prof. Jayaswal, Prof. Bhandarkar, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Prof. R. C. Majumdar and others of international fame, but simply to place before the readers some of the conditions—social and political—of ancient India which proved helpful to the rise of Buddhism according to its own testimony—the Jātakas. How far the general notion, no doubt originated by interested parties, that Buddhism like a rebellious child was antagonistic to the environments it grew under, is acceptable can well be gauged from these gleanings. The Buddha certainly did not try to implant anything new ; his

[1] Arthasastra, Book II, Chap. I, § 48 ; also Bk. IV, Chap. XIII, § 232.

doctrine of renunciation was actually being followed by thousands of people in their endeavour to go to heaven, his observance of equality of castes was already an established fact, his criterion of education was the current standard of society,[1] his federation was another form of the Gāmani government and his 'Nibbāna' served to offer relief to people who were bent on mutual destruction and groaning in the torpor of intoxication brought in by enjoyments of infinite variety.

[1] Jātaka Gleanings on Sociology, C. R., Sept.-Oct., 1931.

THE DATE OF THE BHARATA-NĀṬYŚĀSTRA

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1. INTRODUCTORY.

Dates varying from 200 B. C. to 700 A. C. (M. Winternitz, 'Gesch. der indischen Litt.,' Vol. III, p. 8; S. K. De, 'Sanskrit Poetics,' Vol. I, p. 23) have been suggested for the NŚ. ascribed to 'Bharata-muni,' an author of doubtful existence (S. C. Mukherjee, 'Introduction to the *Rasādhyāya* of the NŚ.'; M. Ghosh, 'Problems of the NŚ.' in IHQ., 1930, pp. 72-75). In view of the fact that the work contains considerable materials for the reconstruction of the cultural history of India, this uncertainty about its date makes the question all the more tantalising. No apology is therefore needed in making a fresh investigation into the available materials to ascertain the age to which this important document belongs. There has been a certain amount of work on the NŚ.,[1] but it seems

[1] A chronological list of writings touching the subject is given below :

1885. R. Pischel, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen, 1885, pp. 763 ff. (as per Winternitz's reference).

1897. P. Regnaud, Introduction to Grosset's ed. of the NŚ. (as per S. K. De's ref.).

1900. A. Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 434.

1904. S. Lévi, I. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, p. 163.

1909. Haraprasad Sastri, JASB., Vol. V (New Series), pp. 351 ff., also Vol. VI, pp. 307 ff.

1911. E. J. Rapson, Article on Drama (Indian) in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, p. 888.

that nothing has been attempted on a serious scale, although we can associate eminent names like Pischel, Jacobi and Haraprasad Sastri with the study of the treatise.

These scholars being preliminary workers in the field had to be content with materials much more meagre than what is available at the present day, and for this reason they could not subject the text of the NS. or any part of it to such a thorough examination as it deserves. For example, Pischel in his Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (p. 32) deplored that nearly all the examples of Pkt. given in the Chapter XXXII of the NS. were almost unintelligible.[1] No wonder about this, because the only text of the NS. which they had to go upon was the KM. edition of the work based on scanty ms. material. The same was undoubtedly the case with other scholars mentioned above. The CH. edition of the NS., issued as late as only four years back (1929), is a great advance on the KM. edition and clears a great deal of the difficulties experienced by previous workers.

This encyclopædic work treats not only of the drama and histrionics and the allied arts of the dance as well as the music (both vocal and instrumental), but also discusses incidentally other more or less distantly connected matters like metrics, rhetoric, and even *ars amatoria*. A consideration of the treatment in the NS. of all these different subjects may be severally expected to throw light on the date of this

1912. P. R. Bhandarkar, I. Ant., Vol. XLI, pp. 158 ff.
1917. P. V. Kane, I. Ant., XLVI, pp. 171 ff., also Introduction to the Sāhitya-darpaṇa, pp. (1923).
1918. H. Jacobi, Introduction to the Bhavisattakaha, p. 84.
1920. Sten Konow, Das indische Drama, p. 2.
1923. S. K. De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, pp. 23 ff.
1923. P. D. Gune, Introduction to the Bhavisayattakaha, pp. 48 ff.
1924. A. B. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp. 291 ff.
1926(?). S. C. Mukherjee, Introduction to the *Rasādhyāya* of the NS.

[1] These Pkt. verses have been edited by the present writer in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4.

great work. The proper place of the doctrine preached by the NŚ. for all the above arts in the history of ancient Indian culture would help to establish a date for the work. Thus, for example, the rhetorical doctrines or principles as taught in the NŚ. stand between the earliest references on the subject and the later elaborations relating to it, and the position of the NŚ. could be surmised by a careful comparison with these preceding and succeeding views. Besides these, there are other things which incidentally find a mention in the work and may also throw light on the question of its age. They are the names of gods, goddesses and demigods, countries, tribes, and various other things. But one of the most important aspects of the work in discussing its age is certainly its language and style. The author writes in Skt. and he gives quite a number of verses in Pkt. His Skt. style and vocabulary and the kind of Pkt. he employs in its grammar as well as words and forms should prove an important source of light for this obscure question. We shall begin the present discussion by studying first the linguistic data as furnished by the current text of the NŚ.; and other data will be independently discussed after this. But the results thus obtained will be considered together in the end for getting any hint as to the age in which the NŚ. was produced.

The linguistic data in the NŚ. can be grouped under three heads: (1) the Skt. in which the work is composed; (2) the Pkt. which has been treated in its Chapter XVIII (KM. XVII) of the work, and (3) the Pkt. passages in its Chapter XXXII. In preparing this monograph where special attention has been given to these linguistic data, the NŚ. has been studied both in the available printed editions and in some mss. The text of the work, as has been pointed out by MM. Ramakrishna Kavi, is available in two recensions (Preface to the GOS. ed. of the NŚ., Vol. I, p. 7). Consequently any description of the mss. and the printed texts should be preceded with a discussion about the authenticity

of what will be called hereafter the shorter and the longer recensions.

2. Two Recensions of the NŚ.

In the matter of having two rather divergent recensions, the NŚ. is quite a peer of important works like the Nirukta, the Bṛhaddevatā and the Śakuntalā. The editors of these three works have differently settled the claims of their shorter and longer recensions. At first sight the tendency would be to accept the shorter recension as representing the original better, because elaboration would seem in most cases to come later. But opinion is divided in this matter. R. Pischel ('Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā,' HOS., p. xi), regarded the longer recension as being nearer the original; A. A. Macdonell ('The Bṛhaddevatā,' Part I, pp. xviii-xix) has also given his decision in favour of the longer recension, but he has not ventured to reject the shorter one as being entirely late; and Lakshman Sarup ('Introduction to the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta,' p. 39) has definitely suggested the shorter recension as the earlier one. All these go to show that the problem of the relation between the two recensions of any work is not so simple as to be solved off-hand. So in this case also we should not settle the issue with the idea that the longer recension owes its bulk to interpolations.

The text-history of the NŚ. shows that already in the tenth century the work was available in two recensions. For it has been pointed out by Ramakrishna Kavi that Dhanañjaya, the author of the Daśarūpa (974-995 A.C.), quoted from the shorter recension of the NŚ., while his contemporary (really one generation later) Bhoja quoted from the longer one in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (Preface to the NŚ. in GOS., Vol. I, p. 8). Abhinavagupta (950-1050 A. C.), the famous commentator of the NŚ., has however used the shorter recension as the basis of his work (R. Kavi, *loc. cit.*). It is

quite likely that the long time which has elapsed since then has witnessed at least minor changes, intentional as well as unintentional, in the text of both the recensions. Hence the problem becomes still more difficult. But a careful examination of the two rival recensions may give us some clue as to their relative authenticity. Ramakrishna Kavi has examined forty mss. of the text and is of opinion that the longer recension, which he calls B, seems to be more ancient, although it contains some interpolations (pointed out by him) going back to a time prior to Abhinavagupta (Preface to the NŚ., p. 8). Mr. Kavi however does not try to explain the origin of the shorter recension, which he calls A. But his view regarding the relative authenticity of the longer recension seems to possess some justification. Reasons in support of his view are to be found among the tests differentiating the two recensions. They are : (1) Chapters XIV and XV of the shorter recension dealing with prosody introduces later terminology of Piṅgala *ra*, *ja*, *sa*, *na*, and *bha* gaṇas, etc.) while the longer recension uses terms *laghu* and *guru* in defining the scheme of metres, and (2) the shorter recension in its Chapter XV gives definitions of metres in *upajāti* metre while the corresponding Chapter XVI of the longer recension gives them in *anuṣṭubh* metre and are arranged in a different order. Considering the fact that the bulk of the NŚ. is written in *anuṣṭubh* metre, the longer recension in this case appears to run closer to the original (R. Kavi, *op. cit.*, p. 8). Though Ramakrishna Kavi has not mentioned it, we have yet another point which may be said to differentiate the two recensions. The Chapter XVII (KM. XVI) dealing with *nāṭya-guṇa* and *alaṁkāra* has nearly forty *ślokas* differently worded in the two recensions. These *ślokas* in the longer recension are written in the usual simple language of the NŚ. while in the shorter recension the *ślokas* betray a later polish. The metre of the five opening stanzas of Chapter XVII (KM. XVI) which in the

shorter recension are in *upajāti*, points to their later origin. For, the bulk of the NŚ., as has been pointed out before, are composed in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and the first couplet of this chapter in the longer recension is also in the same metre.

3. Materials : Mss. & Printed Texts.

Now in the present state of our knowledge the longer recension appearing to be more authentic, any conclusions to be drawn from the text of the NŚ. should refer principally to the longer recension. For the present paper, consequently the longer recension both in the printed edition and mss. has been utilised. Besides this the shorter recension in the printed text as well as in one ms. has been used. The following is a description of the printed texts and mss.[1]

K.—This is the text of the NŚ. issued as the work No. 42 of the KM. series under the joint editorship of Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab and published from Bombay in 1894. It is based on two mss. of the shorter recension. But definitions of metres in them are mostly with terms *laghu* and *guru* and not with Piṅgala's *gaṇas* (a mark of the shorter recension). This probably shows that the mss. were partially under the influence of the longer recension. These two mss. were evidently very old and probably came from the same original. Variants in Pkt. passages in the Chapter XXXII are very scanty. These two mss., *ka* and *kha*, on which the KM. edition was based will be called K^1 and K^2, respectively.

B.—This ms. belonging to the India Office Library (London) was acquired by Bühler. It is a modern *Devanāgarī*

[1] A short description of these has been given in the edition of the Pkt. verses in the NŚ., IHQ., Vol. VIII (1932), No. 4, p. 2.

transcript probably from a South Indian original. The copy has been made on foolscap folios written on one side of the paper. Its original seems to be closely allied to the original of the K[1] and K[2] described above, and hence belongs to the shorter recension. But this ms. at times gives better readings than K[1] and K[2].

C.—This is the text of the NŚ. issued as the work No. 60 of the Kashi Sanskrit Series under the joint editorship of Batuknāth Śarmā and Baladev Upādhyāya and published from Chowkhambā (Benares), in 1929. The text which professes to be an edition of the work can at best be styled as a collation of five mss. Of these five *ka* and *kha*, from variants cited, appear to be *misch-codices* (shorter recension sporadically under the influence of the longer one). These two mss. have partial agreement with K[1] and K[2]. They may, though differing thus from one another, be said to have descended from the same archetype. We may call *ka* and *kha* C[1] and C[2] respectively. The remaining mss. *ga*, *gha* and *ṅa* appear to be belonging to the longer recension. But here also a few metres with Piṅgala's terminology appear. They may be later interpolations. As no variant from the ms. *gha* has been recorded this appears to be the basis of the published text. This ms. though not free from error is on the whole fairly complete and gives mostly good readings. Variants from the ms. *ga* are only two in number while *ṅa* gives four variants throughout the whole text. As these mss. have not been described, there is no means of knowing whether they were complete. If they were complete the remarkable similarity among them will give the presumption that they together with *gha* go to the same original. We call these *ga*, *gha*, and *ṅa*, C[3], C[4] and C[5], respectively.

R.—This is a *Grantha-pothī* of palm leaves belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and a part of its Whish collection. This ms. is allied to the original of C[3], C[4], and C[5]. This is fairly complete in

portions collated for the present paper. But order of verses is sometimes slightly different (*vide* IHQ., Vol. VIII, No. 4, Supplement, pp. 3 ff.). Its orthography has suffered much at the hand of scribes. In spite of this defect this ms. at times gives valuable help in reconstructing the text.

Thus the present monograph has practically the benefit of consulting two mss. of the longer recension, while three mss. giving an idea of the shorter recension have been consulted.

4. Unity of the NS.

Before entering into a discussion of the linguistic data of the NS. it should be enquired whether the work can be attributed to a single author, or it can be assigned to a particular date. Some scholars indeed entertain a doubt about its unitary authorship. A typical instance of such doubt has been expressed by Dr. S. K. De with a number of arguments clearly stated (*op. cit.*). He thinks that "there are indications that it (the NS.) has been subjected to considerable rehandling in later times before it assumed the present shape ......" The alleged indications may be summed up as follows: (1) The colophon at the end of the KM. edition of the NS.; (2) The mention of Kohala as the future writer on certain topics in the NS. (XXXVI, 66; KM., XXXVII, 18); (3) Bhavabhūti's reference to the so-called Bharatamuni as the *tauryatrika-sūtrakāra* and the mention *sūtra*, *bhāṣya* and *kārikā* as the constituent parts of the NS. (VI, 3-14), and the existence of prose, which may be taken as the remnant of the supposed original work which has been changed into verse in later times.

As for the first alleged indication, Dr. De has tried to connect the colophon of the NS. (*samāptaś cāyaṃ nandi-bharata-saṃgīta-pustakam*) with chapters on music only. He is of opinion that 'Nandi-Bharata in this colophon indicates that these chapters on music are 'the original Bharatan

teachings on the subject as modified by the doctrine of Nandī.' If we could accept the view it would rather have been easy to believe in the composite authorship of the NŚ. But this unfortunately does not seem to be possible. The following considerations will explain our difficulties :—

(*a*) The colophon stands at the end of only a group of mss.; for neither R. nor the mss. on which the CH. text of the NŚ. is based include this colophon. (Dr. De's opinion was expressed before the CH. text was available and he did not probably use the ms. B.)

(*b*) The word *saṃgīta* probably does never occur in the NŚ. That the KM. edition has *saṃgīta-vāditam* in ch. XXXVI, 22 appears to be due to a misreading of *me gītavāditam* (*vide* XXXVI, 25 of CH.). This word seems to be later than the NŚ.

(*c*) Though, in spite of the two points (*a* and *b*) mentioned above, the colophon will ever prove to be a genuine part of the original NŚ. we are under no necessity of taking it with reference to chapters *on music only*. That Dr. De has so taken it is probably due to an oversight which equated *saṃgīta* with vocal and instrumental music alone. For Śārṅgadeva says *gītaṃ vādyaṃ tathā nṛtyaṃ trayaṃ saṃgītam ucyate* (Saṃgīta-ratnākara, I. 21). This interpretation of *saṃgīta* would make it possible for us to take the colophon with the entire NŚ. which treats of vocal and instrumental music as well as dance and drama.

(*d*) Even if we have any strong evidence to prove that *saṃgīta* meant only vocal and instrumental music at the time of the NŚ. there will be difficulties to show that Nandi-bharata meant a combination of two authors Nandī and Bharata for the very existence of any person named Bharata who might be the author of the NŚ. has been very seriously doubted (*vide* 'Problems of the NŚ.' by M. Ghosh in IHQ, 1930, pp. 72-75).

As for the prediction that Kohala will treat of certain topics of the NŚ (XXXVI, 65, KM, XXXVII, 18) it may be said that there is nothing in it to show that this name (Kohala) is later than the author of the NŚ. For aught we know he might have been a predecessor or a contemporary of the latter. This would probably do away with the assumption that some later editor or interpolator inserted in NŚ. the name of Kohala who is supposed to be posterior to the author of the NŚ., and would weaken the theory of composite authorship of the NŚ.

The most important of the alleged indications of the plural authorship of the NŚ. is the third one. But the idea that the NŚ. was originally a prose work subsequently turned into verse, arose probably due to a misunderstanding of the word *sūtra*. In spite of the definition of this as *Alpākṣaram asandigdhaṃ sāravad viśvatomukham*, etc., there is nothing to shew that *sūtras* must always be in prose. Indeed we have *Nāṭyadarpaṇa-sūtra* (GOS.) entirely in verse and *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (Bibliotheca Buddhica) partly in verse and partly in prose. Apart from these instances Paramādīśvara in his commentary of the *Āryabhaṭīyam* refers to the verses of the work as *sūtras* (*vide* Kern's ed.). Even Abhinavagupta seemed to have understood by *sūtra* a versified work as well; for, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of his *Abhinava-bhāratī* he refers to the NŚ. as *Bharata-sūtra*. Thus if we understand *sūtra* in the right sense, the theory of the supposed (original) prose version of the entire NŚ. fails. Existence of prose passages in it does not help the theory in the least. An explanation of their existence will be that the author probably thought it convenient to use prose on particular topics. If we take the whole thing like that there will be no difficulty in understanding the words of Bhavabhūti who knew Bharata to be a *sūtrakāra*. It can be easily assumed that Abhinavagupta, and Bhavabhūti too, knew the present text of the NŚ.

Apart from the three alleged indications discussed above we have an opinion of Abhinavagupta which seems to shake our belief in the unitary authorship of the NŚ. In his comments on the NŚ., ch. VI. 10. Abhinava says 'that although *nāṭya* is said to consist of five *aṅgas*, the enumeration of eleven *aṅgas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others' (*vide* S. K. De, *op. cit.*, Vol I, pp. 25-26). But as both the recensions of the NŚ. expressly mention *ṣaḍaṅga nāṭya* (XXVII, 51, KM., 48) we need not take Abhinavagupta's words to be accurate. As the verse on which the above comment of Abhinava occurs, does not contain anything like *ekādaśāṅga* we have to say that the commentator's original words have not probably reached us. (A similar discrepancy in the available text of the commentary of Abhinavagupta has been pointed out by the present writer in the IHQ., Vol. IX, p. 593).

After meeting the above charges against the unity of the NŚ., we would like to point out one fact which may testify to the existence of such unity. The NŚ. is remarkably free from mutually conflicting things. As the existence of such things in the extant Mahābhārata has led to the theory of its plural authorship, one may probably be justified to interpret their absence in the available text of the NŚ. as a piece of negative evidence in favour of the unitary authorship of this work.

Now there being practically nothing against the unity of the NŚ. we may proceed to examine the current text of the work in order to ascertain the age in which it was likely to have been composed. It is quite possible that the NŚ. may have absorbed some earlier material in its bulk. That may be checked by data other than linguistic mentioned before. That is, findings on linguistic data will supplement, and not exclude the function of, other data in the NŚ.

5. The Skt. of the NS.

The Skt. language which is used for the NS. may first of all be examined for any hint as to the age of its composition. The work though at times refers to itself as a *Veda* (Ch. 1, 4, 6, 7, 14, 20, 25, etc.) does not possess any peculiarity of the language of the latter. And the word *Veda* in this connection need not mean anything more than the traditional lore. Grammatical peculiarities commonly met with in the Mbh. and the Purāṇas and the R.—peculiarities, which are popularly known as *ārṣa* forms—are conspicuous by their absence. It can only be expected that the NS. written in the fashion of the above-mentioned works, i.e. as a dialogue between the mythical sage Bharata and the Brāhmaṇas possessed this characteristic in its original version which subsequent redactors have modified. But in the absence of any positive evidence one cannot assert that such actually was the case with the NS., while the epics as well as the Purāṇas, though much changed from their original, still retained some *ārṣa* forms. Therefore we cannot claim that the NS. was a work of popular character like the epics and Purāṇas ; for *ārṣa* forms, as modern scholorship has shown it, indicate Skt. which has been under the influence of Pkt.

A reckoning and investigation of words which occur rarely or never in the literature has sometimes been made the basis of conclusions regarding the date of a work. We may also make an attempt in that line, and consider the three following groups of words occurring in the NS.

(1) The following words which do not seem to be much used in the later literature occur in the NS. (These words in the following list are given with their meanings and references as in the Dictionary of Monier-Williams.)

Prekṣā (public show, entertainment), II. 7, in Manu, Harivaṁśa, Kathāsarit (*cf.* Pali *pekkhā*).

Iṣṭa (worshipped), III. 96, in the Vājasan. Saṃ., Śat. Br., Kāty. Śr., Ait. Br.

Dharṣaṇā (insolence, disrespect), VII. 66, Mbh., Harivaṃśa, Pañcatantra.

Piṭhaka (basket), II. 72, Mbh., R. (but these works have the word spelt as *piṭaka*. *Cf.* Pali *piṭaka* in Tipiṭaka).

Prāśnika (critic, judge), Mbh., R., Mālavikāgnimitra. (According to the reading of mss. C^{3}, C^{4}, C^{5} and R. this word has been changed by another : *prekṣaka*, see KM., text, Chapter XXVII. 46, 50 and CH., text, ch. XXVII. 53, 56. It is evident that the obsolete word was given up in favour of this new one.)

The above list may tempt one to suggest that as these words commonly found in literature, roughly falling between 400 B.C. and 300 A.C., occur in the NS., the work may be very old. But such a conclusion will be on a very weak foundation. Later inquiries might detect the use of these words in more recent texts.

(2) In addition to words given above the NŚ. contain the following words which have not been noticed by Monier-Williams.

Divaukasaḥ (clouds), I. 86, *vide* Abhinava's comment on the word.

Cintâbhyāsa (concentration), VII. 53, *vide* Apte's Dictionary. He does not cite the reference.

Mahā-grāmaṇī (Gaṇapati), III. 9, *vide* Abhinava's comment on the word.

Nāṭakīyā (actress), XXXV. 79. (This word occurs only in the longer recension of the NŚ.) The meaning is apparent from the context (*cf.* Pali *nāṭakitthi*).

Vikṛṣṭa, *viprakṛṣṭa* (rectangular), II. 19, 101.

These five or six words may speak in favour of the great antiquity of the NS.; but nothing definite can be based on it on ground given in the case of (1) above.

(3) Besides the above, two words like *Dramila* (XVIII. 42) and *Pàhrava* (XXI. 89) occur in the NŚ. These two words do not occur in all the texts or in the same group of texts. *Dramila* occurs in the CH. text while *Pahrava* is to be found in KM. text and B. But in spite of these facts the two words from their forms appear to be older forms of their substitutes and hence we can assume the likelihood of their belonging to the original version of the NŚ.

The word *Dramila* (read as *Draviḍa* in K. and B.) has a very interesting history. This old Tamil word, synonymous with the name of that well-known tribe, had probably three variants such as *Dramila, Dramiḍa* and *Draviḍa* from very ancient times when speakers of Indo-Aryan began to note the word. Jules Bloch is of opinion that the ancient Tamil language like the Old Indo-Aryan once tolerated initial conjunct consonants in a word (S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language', Vol. I. p. 171 ; I. Ant., 1919, pp. 191 ff.) and the prototype of the word 'Tamil' had initially the combination of a dental sound with *r* and words like *Dramila, Dramiḍa,* and *Draviḍa* are just older forms of the word Tamiḻ. According to this scholar such a phonetic character existed in Tamil before the beginning of the Christian era. Of these words *Draviḍa* enjoyed in later times wider currency. One does not know the reason why this was so. It (*Draviḍa*) developed from *Dramiḍa* which itself was probably a variant of *Dramiḻa, i.e., Dramila* written with a cerebral *l*. Now the forms *Dramila* and *Dramiḍa* are very rarely met with in Skt. literature. The Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa (*circa* 500 A.C.) uses *Damiḻa* a Prākritised form of the word *Dramila.* And the word *Dramiḍa* as a variant of *Draviḍa* occurs in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā (*circa* 600 A.C.) edited by Kern (Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages' Introduction, p. 13). All these probably go to show that *Dramila* occurring in the NŚ. is a very old word and it must be referred to a pre-Christian time.

The word *Pahrava* which was the earlier form of *Pahlava* or *Pallava* according to Haraprasād Śāstrī belongs to 200 B. C. (JASB., Vol. V, 1909, p. 351). Let us examine this conclusion. It is true that the foreigners named Parthians had some political foothold in the North-Western frontier of India in about 200 B.C. (V. A. Smith, 'Early History of India,' 1924, p. 241), but we do not know exactly what name they gave to themselves. It is likely that they called themselves Parthians for they have used Greek in their coins. Now the first name which Indians coined for these foreigners were probably **Parthava* which subsequently developed through **Pathrava* into *Pahrava* which again developed into *Pahlava* or *Pallava*. The stages will be as follows:

* *Parthava* > * *Pathrava* > *Pahrava* > *Pahlava* > *Pallava*.

To think that * *Parthava* immediately developed into *Pahrava* will be more than the linguistic science will permit. It is quite probable that the process may have taken more or less a century. This will fix the upper limit to the date of the NŚ. somewhere in the century before the beginning of the Christian era. The history of the word *Dramila* also probably points in the same direction. But the general character of the style of this work resembles to some extent that of the Manusaṃhitā, a work generally placed in the 300 A.C.

The occurrence of spellings *Dramila* and *Pahrava* may however be taken to mean that it represents a tradition which was crystallised before Christian times. Consequently, the upper limit to the date of the NŚ. may barely be placed somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era.

To sum up from our study of the Skt. of the NŚ. we may be permitted to say that though it has some chance of being of a pre-Christian date, it may not be placed so early as the 200 B.C.

6. The Pkt. of the NS.

The NS. gives some rules as to how Skt. sounds are modified in Pkt. in its Chapter XVIII (KM. XVII) 1-23. Pischel, and following him many other scholars, have called these collections of rules a Pkt. grammar ('Gram. der Prākrit-Sprachen,' p. 32). Evidently the name grammar is far too wide of the mark in the present case ; for this so-called grammar is entirely silent about the Pkt. declension and conjugation and other things. Hence instead of calling it a grammar it would be proper to refer to it as the NS. theory of Pkt. based on its phonological peculiarities or simply the NS. theory of Pkt. Besides this the NS. in Chapter XXXII contains more than one hundred Pkt. stanzas which occur there as examples of different kinds of *dhruvās* or songs to be sung in different stages during the performance of a play. An examination of the lingu ff.) and ructure of these together with the NS. theory of Pkt combinatic r main purpose in this part of this paper.

nila, Dramic examine them the verses 1-23 of the Ch. XV Tamil. A of the NS. dealing with the theory of the Pkt. are exisncally edited below with a translation. Except the first three which are in *anuṣṭubh* the rest of the verses are all in the *āryā* metre.

The Text & Variants

एवं तु संस्कृतं [1]पाठ्यं मया प्रोक्तं [2]द्विजोत्तमाः ।
प्राकृत[3]स्यापि पाठ्यस्य संप्रवक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥१॥
एतदेव विपर्यस्तं संस्कारगुणवर्जितम् ।
विज्ञेयं प्राकृतं [4]पाठ्यं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ॥२॥
त्रिविधं तच्च विज्ञेयं नाट्ययोगे समासतः ।
समान[5]-शब्दं विभ्रष्टं [6]देशीमतमथापि वा ॥३॥

[1] B. पद्यम्, [2] BK. समासतः, [3] BK. -स्य तु B. -स्य तु पद्यस्य, [4] R. नाट्यं, [5] BK. शब्दैर्विभ्रष्टं, [6] CR, देशीगत,

कमलामलरेणु-तरङ्ग-लोल-सलिलादि[7]सम्पन्नवाक्यम् ।
प्राकृतबन्धेष्वेव संस्कृतमिव [तत्] प्रयोगमुपयाति ॥४॥
ये वर्णाः [8]संयोगात् स्वरवर्णान्यत्व[9]मूनतां वापि ।
गच्छन्ति पदन्यस्तास्ते [10]विभ्रष्टा इति ज्ञेयाः ॥५॥

[1]ए ओ आरपराणि अकारपरिचवा अएणायिव स आरमंसिमाइत
वर्गं तवर्गं निगण [12]वंच्छति कटतव वयवालोत्सव अयचसे वहतिसरा ॥
खप्पतु धञा जण इहथ्थ उषतिअं असुचंता [13]उच्चउरयरोहे ।
णहुंतो अ वअ अएणंथि मोह्णण भ्र भ्रवेभ्र वरु भ्रु ट्ठगचन्द्र रांरंसुः [14]कगति दवाण
अणिच् चळोमजमपिओ सरोहोलक्टषो ॥६-८॥

[15]छ इति षकारो नित्यं बोद्धव्यः षट्पदादियोगे तु ।
किल-[16]शब्दो रेफान्तो भवति तथा[च] [17]खु[हि] खलु-शब्दः ॥१०॥
ड इति [च] भवति टकारो [18]नटभटकुटकुटितटाकेषु ।
सत्वं च भवति शषयोः सर्वत्र [19][हि] तथाहि विस-सङ्का ॥११॥
अस्पष्टश्च दकारो [20]भवति अनादौ तकार [21]इतरादौ ।
[22]वडवा-तडागतुल्यो भवति डकारोऽपि च[23] लकारः ॥१२॥
[24]वधमधुशब्दे च तथा धकारवर्णो हकारतां याति ।
.... ॥१३॥
[25]शठपाठपोठि-आदिषु [ठ]-कारवर्णोऽपि ढत्वमायाति ।
सर्वत्र [26]च प्रयोगे भवति [27]नकारोपि च णकारः ॥१४॥

[7] *mss.* वाक्यसंपन्नम्, [8] BK. संयुक्ताः स्वरवर्णा......स्तनतां चापि, [9] C.त्वन्यूनतां, [10] BK. विभ्रमा, [11] (*Four couplets from 6-10 are obscure and incomplete in all mss.*) BK. एतु आरपराइंज अंकारपरंभणापायणच्छिव। सायारमञ्जिमाइय कवचयतवसराणि इणाइं॥ R. अएणापिवसं, [12] BK. वश्वंति कगत दयवा लोवं अत्थंवसि स्वहत्तिसरा। खदाथ-भद्यभाउणाहतं तुवेत्ति अत्थं असुंघना॥ [13] BK. उधरफुतरसासाहे हाफुक्ष प्रवयापणच्छिमोत्तूण वंइदो द्रह पइजाइस्व। खंयषधभाणाहयाने सुहकाहापहुसुरिच्छेसु॥ [14] BK. कगतदजवाणविश्वावीयं मिठिउसरोहोइच्छे॥ [15] *mss.* इति च, [16] BK. -शब्दान्तौ रेफौ, [17] CR. खुत्ति, BK. खुं, [18] BK. नडककुटी......तडागेषु, CR. तटायेषु, [19] BK. सर्वत यथाहि विशशङ्का C. सस आदेशः, [20] BK. भवत्यनादौ, [21] BK. इतराद्यः, C. इतराये, [22] BK. वनवभोनागतुल्ये, [23] CR. *omit* च, [24] *mss.* पध. *This couplet is incomplete and appears in* CR. *only*, [25] CR. *omit the 1st hemistich* [26] BK. *omit* च, [27] BK. मकारोऽपि

आपाणम् आवाणं भवति [28]पकारेण वत्वयुक्तेन ।
अयथा-तथादिकेषु तु थकारवर्णो व्रजति [29]हत्वम् ॥१५॥
[30]परुषं फरुसं विद्यात् पकारवर्णोऽपि फत्वमुपयाति ।
[31]यस्तु मृगः सोपि मओ यस्तु मृतः सोऽपि [च] तथैव ॥१६॥
ओकारत्वं गच्छत्यौकार[32]श्चौषधादिषु नियुक्तः ।
[33]प्रचयाचिराचलादिषु चकारवर्णोऽपि च यकारः ॥१७॥
[34]अपरस्वरनिष्पन्ना [35]एवं प्राकृतसमाश्रया वर्णाः ।
संयुक्तानां तु पुनर्वक्ष्ये [36]परिवृत्तिसंयोगम् ॥१८॥
[37]श्वत्सप्स[-ध्यः]-च्छ इति [-भ्य]-ध्यत्यानां भवति तु ज्झकारः ।
ष्टः ट्ठः स्तः त्थः [ष्मो म्हः] स्नष्णक्ष्णां ह्नः क्षः क्खकाररूपो हि ॥१८॥
[38]आश्चर्यं मात्सर्यं चैत्यनयो र्यस्य रियं च तथा ।
[39]उत्साहस्योच्छाहो पथ्यं [40]पच्छं च विज्ञेयम् ॥२०॥
तुभ्यं तुज्झं मह्यं [41]मज्झं [42]विंध्यश्च विञ्झ इति ।
दृष्टो [43][दिट्ठ] इति स्यात् हस्तोऽपि च हत्थ इत्येवम् ॥२१॥
ग्रीष्मो [44]गिम्हो च तथा श्लक्ष्णं [45]लण्हं सदा तु विज्ञेयम् ।
[46]कृष्णः [47]कण्हो यक्षो [48]जक्खो योर्लस्य [49]पर्यंके ॥२२॥
विपरीतहसं[50]योगो भवति ब्रह्मादौ [51]स्याद्बृहस्पतौ फत्वम् ।
यक्ष्मस्य भवति [52]जम्मो भीष्मो [53]भिम्म इति विज्ञेयः ॥२३॥
उपरि[54]गतोऽधस्ताद् वा [55]भवेत् ककारादिकस्तु यो वर्णः ।
स हि संयोगविहीनः [56]शुद्धः कार्य्यः प्रयोगेऽस्मिन् ॥२४॥

[28] C. पकारे, [29] BK. धत्वम्, [30] BK. परुषाणां, [31] BK. यस्तु मृतः सोऽपि मओ डियस्तु मृतसोऽपि मओ यस्तु मृगः सोऽपि तथैव ॥ [32] BK. श्चोपधादिषु, [33] BK. प्रवलायिता बलादिषु भवति चकारोऽपि च यकारः, [34] CR. अपरस्वर, [35] BK. स्येवं, [36] BK. परीवृत्ति, [37] BK. क्षमश्चाब्द इति तथा राज्ञ तु तकारयोग उपयातः । तस्मो अच्छरपचास्य च संसत्साह्य सवसत्सोष्टौज्वस्तेऽध: ष्टौषी लक्षमोक्ष्यः ॥ [38] BK. आश्चर्यमच्छरियं निश्चयमिच्छन्ति णिच्छयन्ति तथा । [39] BK. उत्साहो, [40] BK. पथ्य, [41] BK. मज्जं, [42] BK. विन्ध्यश्च भवति विज्झेति, [43] BK. दत्थोऽस्ति तथा हस्तोऽपि भवति हत्थेति, CR. हृष्टो दक्ष इति, [44] BK. गीम्होति, [45] BK. सक्ष्णं, [46] BK. उष्णं उह्नं [47] CR. कण्हो च भवेत्, [48] BK. जच्चौ जकौ, CR. जक्खो च and *omit* योर्लस्य, [49] C. पल्लंक पढंङ्के, BK. भवति पल्लङ्क, [50] BK. हसयोगौ, [51] CR. स्यात् बृहं, BK. स्याद्बृहस्य तौ, [52] CR. जक्खो BK. जम्मो, [53] BK. भिम्मोति, [54] CR. गते, BK. गतौ हस्ताद्वा, [55] BK. भवेत् कारादिकस्तु, [56] CR. शुद्धं कार्यं ।

(TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE PASSAGE AND NOTES.)

1. Thus, O best among the twice-born, have I described how the Skt. reading (enunciation) should be made. Now I shall speak of the characteristic of the Pkt. reading.

2. This (the Pkt. reading)—one should know—is irregular and free from the merit of being polished and has for its chief feature various changes.

3. In connection with the *nāṭyas* (plays) this (Pkt.) recitation should briefly be known as consisting of three kinds (of elements): (*i*) *samāna-śabda* (same words), (*ii*) *vibhraṣṭa* (fallen-off or corrupted words) and (*iii*) *deśīmata* (words considered as native).

Note.—Later Pkt. grammarians called the above three classes of Pkt. words as, *Tatsama, Tadbhava* and *Deśī* respectively.

4. A sentence containing words like *kamala, amala, reṇu, taraṅga, lola, salila* and the like are used in Pkt. composition (in the same manner) as (they were done) in a Skt. one.

5. Syallables which due to contact with others modify their vowels or sustain loss are, while placed in a word, to be known as *vibhraṣṭa* (fallen-off).

6-9:

Note.—As these couplets could not be reconstructed from the available materials, no translation of them could be offered.

10. *Ṣ* should always be understood (as changing to) *ch* in words like *ṣaṭ* (six); and the word *kila* should (in Pkt.) end in *r*, while *khalu* will have to be (changed to) *khu*..

11. In words like *naṭa, bhaṭa, kuṭa, kuṭi* and *taṭāka, ṭ* becomes *ḍ*, and *ś* and *ṣ* are always to change to *s* and hence *visa* and *saṅkā* (from *viṣa* 'poison' and *śaṅkā* 'fear' respectively).

12. *T* when not initial and is preceded by another letter changes to a weakly audible *d*. *Vaḍavā* and *taḍāga* are mutually resembling in having to change their *ḍ* into *l* (in Pkt.).

Note.—The weakly audible *d* probably means a spirantised *d*.

13. *Dh* in words like *vadha*, *madhu*, etc., are likewise to change to *h*.

Note.—This couplet is incomplete; its other half seems to be lost.

14. *Ṭh* in words like *śaṭha*, *pāṭha*, *pīṭhī* and the like become *ḍh*; and *n* becomes *ṇ* everywhere in application (*i.e.*, in Pkt.).

Note.—Instead of the first half of the above rule CR. has the fragment 13 which may be spurious.

15. With a *p* liable to change to *v*, *āpāṇa* becomes *āvāṇa*; and *th* except in words *yathā*, *tathā* and the like becomes *h*.

16. One is to read the word *paruṣa* as *pharusa* for *p* is changed to *ph* (in Pkt.) and *mṛga* will be changed to *maa*, while *mṛta* will also be *maa*.

Note.—The word *maa* from *mṛta* and *mṛga* had its spirantised *d* reduced to the *ya-śruti* which however was not uniformly shown in writing during the early days of this phonetic change (*vide* IHQ., Vol. VIII, No 4, Supplement, pp. 14-15).

17 *Au* employed in words like *auṣadha*, etc., will change to *o*, and *c* in words like *pracaya*, *acira*, *acala*, etc., will change into *ya*.

Note.—This *ya-śruti* for *ca* did not probably at once lead to its graphic elimination (*ibid*).

18. Thus (change) the *varṇas* in Pkt., when they arise independently (*i.e.*, when they are simple). Now, I shall speak of changes of conjunct *varṇas*.

Note.—*Varṇas* referred to above are vowels as well as consonants while conjunct *varṇas* are merely conjunct consonants.

19. *Śc*, *ts*, *ps* and *thy* change to *cch* and *bhy*, *dhy* and *hya* to *jjh*. And *ṣṭ* changes to *ṭṭh*, *sth* to *tth*, *ṣma* to *mh*, *sn*, *ṣn* and *kṣṇ* to *ṇh* and *kṣ* becomes *kkh*.

20. *Āścarya* and *mātsarya* change their *-rya* to *-riya*, while *utsava* becomes *ucchava* and *pathya* is to be known as *paccha*.

21. *Tubhyaṃ* becomes *tujjhaṃ*, *mahyaṃ majjhaṃ* and *vindhya viñjha*. And *dṛṣṭa* becomes *diṭṭha* and *hasta* will be *hattha*.

22. *Grīṣma* is to be known always (in Pkt.) as *gimha*, *ślakṣṇa* as *laṇha*. And *kṛṣṇa* will be *kaṇha*, *yakṣa jakkha* and both *r* and *y* in *paryaṅka* will be changed to *l* (*i.e.*, *ry*=*ll*).

23. In words like *Brahmā*, *h* and *m* are to change place between them and *p* of *Bṛhaspati* becomes *ph*. And *yajña* becomes (in Pkt.) *jaṇṇa* and *Bhīṣma* is to be known as *Bhimma*.

24. *K* and similar *varṇas*, while on the top (of a letter) or below it, will have to be disjointed in application (*i.e.*, in Pkt.).

Note.—This probably discusses *Svarabhakti* (anaptyxis), *kilesa* (*kleśa*), *duvāra* (*dvāra*) may be possible examples of this rule.

Thus on the basis of the above reconstructed passage of the NS. on the theory of Pkt. the following tabular view of the change of sounds are available.

N.B.—Numerals within the brackets denote the serial number of Skt. couplets giving the theory of Pkt.

(*i*) Vowels :

Sanskrit		*ṛ*	>	*a* or *i* ...	...	(16, 21)
,,		*au*	>	*o* ...	...	(17)

(*ii*) Simple consonants :

Sanskrit	intervocal	*t*	>	*aspaṣṭa d*	...	(12)
,,	,,	*ṭ*	>	*ḍ* ...	...	(11)
,,	,,	*ṭh*	>	*ḍh* ...	...	(14)
,,	,,	*ḍ*	>	*l* ...	...	(12)
,,	initial	*p*	>	*ph* (sometimes)	...	(16)
,,	intervocal	*p*	>	*v* ...	...	(15)
,,	,,	*c*	>	*ya-śruti*	...	(17)

Sanskrit	intervocal *th*	>	*h*	... ...	(15)
,,	,, *th*	>	*dh* (sometimes)	...	(15)?
,,	dental *n*	>	*ṇ*	.. ...	(14)
,,	*l* in *kila* becomes		*r*	... ...	(10)
,,	*ś* and *ṣ* become		*s*	... ...	(11)
,,	*ṣ* becomes		*ch* (sometimes)	...	(10)

(*iii*) Conjunct consonants:

Sanskrit	*khalu*	>	*khu*	... ...	(10)
,,	*kṣ*	>	*kkh*	... ...	(19)
,,	*śc*, *ts*, *ps*, *thy*	>	*cch*	... ...	(19)
,,	*bhy*, *dhy*, *hy*	>	*jjh*	... ...	(19)
,,	*ṣm*	>	*mh*	... ...	(19)
,,	*ṣm*	>	*mm* (sometimes)	...	(23)
,,	*sn*, *ṣn*, *kṣṇ*	>	*ṇh*	... ...	(19)
,,	*ṣṭ*	>	*ṭṭh*	... ...	(19)
,,	*st*	>	*tth*	... ...	(19)
,,	*ry*	>	*lla*	... ...	(22)
,,	*jñ*	>	*ṇṇ*	... ...	(23)
,,	*hm*	>	*mh*	... ...	(23)
,,	*sp*	>	*pph*	... ...	(23)

The NS. though it has described the phonological peculiarities of Pkt. did not assign it to any particular class. It cannot be said that at the time of the work Pkt. was not yet divided into different dialects; for, shortly after finishing the theory of Pkt. the NŚ. names seven *bhāṣās* (major dialects) such as Māgadhī (Mg.) *Avantijā*, *Prācyā*,

Śūrasenī=*Śaurasenī*, *Ardhamāgadhī*, *Vāhlikī* and *Dākṣiṇātyā*, and six *vibhāṣās* (minor dialects) such as *Śābarī*, *Ābhīrī*, *Caṇḍālī*, *Śakarī*(?), *Drāviḍī* and *Oḍrī*, and gives rules as to how these different dialects are to be used by different characters in a play—according to difference in their profession and the native land (XVIII. 45-52, 54. KM., XVIII. 48-56). The NŚ. however does not give any clue for the identification of these dialects. The only help which it may be said to have given in the matter is a sort of vague description of the phonetic habits of the inhabitants of different parts of India presumably Aryanised. The description runs as follows:

"One who is an expert (in Nāṭya) should assign a dialect abounding in *e* to inhabitants of countries lying between the Ganges and the Ocean, and to the people of countries between the Vindhyas and the Ocean he should give a speech abounding in *na*. To the countries of Saurāṣṭra, Avanti and tracts lying to the North of the Vetravatī should be assigned a dialect characterised by *ca*, and to the countries near the Himalayas and to Sindh and Sauvīra is to be applied a dialect with abundant *o's*. The dialect applicable to the basin of the Carmaṇvatī where the Arvudas dwell should be abounding in *ta*'s (XVIII. 53-55. 56-59, KM. XVII. 57-63)."

It must be noted here that the peculiarities mentioned above refer to different *localities* of India, and not to *dialects* (named differently) the exact nature of which has not been recorded by the NŚ.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, one feels a difficulty as to knowing what kind of Pkt. has been meant by the author of the NŚ. The NŚ. theory of the Pkt. as we shall see later on is by itself an incomplete thing and does not give us by itself any decisive help in the matter; hence before coming to that, it would be well to consider what light we can get from other circumstances.

Could the NŚ. have meant by Pkt. all or any one of the *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās*? It is obvious that its author did not

mean by the Pkt. all *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās*, together. Hence we are left to the alternative of seeing in the Pkt. of the NS. only one single variety of it which is at the basis of all the rest. But before starting an enquiry in this direction it would be well to have a review of the extant *rūpaka*'s and *uparūpakas* to see what varieties of Pkt. are used in them. We at once find that only S. and Mg. have been regularly used, whereas the use of *Ardha-Māgadhī*, *Mahārāṣṭrī* (M.), *Prācyā*, *Śakārī*, *Cāṇḍālī* and *Dākṣiṇātyā* may be said to be sporadic (*cf.* Keith. 'Sanskrit Drama,' pp. 334 ff.). From this we see that all different *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās* mentioned in the NS. are not to be met with in the extant plays, while M. seems to be a very late intruder. It may appear that the NS. does not correctly report the state of affairs at its time. But one need not think like that; for dramas containing remaining dialects which might presumably have been sporadically used have probably been lost. And a change in tastes might have altered the position of some of them. Thus we may accept it as the basis of discussion that the NS. says something which has foundation in facts. And the Pkt. described in the work will be one of the different varieties of *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās*.

Considering the sporadic use of them none of the *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās* other than S. and Mg. seems to have any chance of having been indicated by the word *Prākṛta* in the NS. But M. may however press forward a claim for being identified with the Pkt. of the NS.; for the grammarians like *Caṇḍa* and *Hemacandra* do not give any name to the principal Pkt. which is generally considered to be M. But the absolute silence of the NS. about M. and its later special use (*i.e.* in songs), and that in a very sporadic manner in Skt. plays, will make it possible for one to see clearly that in connection with his Pkt. M. was far from the mind of the author of the NS. Of course, there is in this work a *bhāṣā* named *Dākṣiṇātyā* or the Southern. This may tempt us to see some kind

of M. in the Pkt. of the NŚ. But as this dialect has been assigned by the NŚ. to soldiers, city-superintendents and gamblers, etc. (यौधनागरकादीनां दाक्षिणात्या च दीव्यताम् *v.l.* नागरिका, XVIII. 49 ; KM. XVII. 52), and not to songs of ladies, we may be sure that M.—if such a dialect came into being at the time of the NŚ.—was not yet important enough to be given a place in the stage. Consequently the chance of M. being the Pkt. of the NŚ. may be said to vanish altogether. Thus being reduced to the position of seeing in the Pkt. of the NŚ. either Ś. or Mg., we have the problem much simplified.

The method which the author of the NŚ. followed in treating of Pkt. which was divided and subdivided into different kinds of *bhāṣās* and *vibhāṣās* seem to be much the same as that of the Pkt. grammarians before modern times. That is, they described first the principal Pkt., that is, the Pkt. considered to be the most important in those days and then the peculiarities of the remaining dialects. Now, what can possibly be the principal Pkt. at the time of the NŚ.? On a study of the extant *rūpakas* and *uparūpakas* it is found that Ś. enjoys a position superior to that of Mg. and necessarily all the rest of the Pkts. Therefore it may well be presumed that Ś. was the principal Pkt. with the author of the NŚ., and so he described it first. (The case seems to be otherwise with Vararuci and later grammarians. But the present writer has shown in a paper named 'Mahārāstri, a later phase ot Sauraseni' published in the 'Journal of the Department of Letters,' Calcutta University, Vol. XXIII, 1933, that Ś. has been the principal Prākrit even with the early grammarians like V.) If the Indian Midland is to be credited with the birth of the Nāṭya this presumption has everything in its favour. The extant rules of the NŚ. and similar treatises which prescribe Ś. for the princesses and ladies as well as the Vidūṣaka while Mg. is assigned to other inmates, *i.e.*, artisans, menials, etc. (NŚ., XVIII. 47 ; KM.,

XVII. 50. *The numbering of ślokas of this chapter from 40-59 CH. edition of the NŚ. is wrong*; also 'Daśarūpa' II. 60, Hall; 99. Haas) may also be said to point out the privileged position of the Ś. which was a Midland dialect (*vide* M. Ghosh, 'Mahārāstri, a Later Phase of Saurasenī'). Even if one may not accept the theory of the Indian Midland being the home of the Nāṭya the case for Ś. does not suffer. Being the language of a place which was the centre of the Indo-Aryan culture it naturally enjoyed a special favour all over Aryandom (S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 11-13, 39, 43, 45, 46, 51, 53, 60, 61). Thus it is not difficult to assume that even if the Indian Nāṭya might be born somewhere away from the Midland, it had some strong reasons to give Ś. a prominent place in the stage. For artists must have looked for the patronage of the *elité* of the Indian Midland (*Madhyadeśa*) who evidently supplied norm in almost every matter to the people of the Aryanised fold.

(*cf*. एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशाद् अग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरितं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥
Manu, Ch. II, 20.)

Hence there cannot be any serious objection against accepting Ś. as the Pkt. of the NŚ. But it may be asked why the local dialect of the Śūrasena country, only one among the various parts of the Midland, should stand for the whole of India. The question is not very difficult to answer. There is nothing unnatural in this affair. It has so many modern parallels. The dialects of Tuscany, a smaller locality of Italy, furnishes the standard of speech for the centre of culture like Rome, while the dialect of Castille does the same thing for the cultured area of Spain.

Thus Ś. though one of the dialects of the Midland would in fact stand very well for the entire region. That it so stood is apparent from the names of various dialects used by the NŚ. The terms such as *Prācyā*, *Dākṣiṇātyā*

and *Udīcyā* (XVIII. 50; KM. XVII. 52) must have a reference to some central country and this central region was surely the North Indian Midland from which most of the things of culture would appear to have emanated in those days. Hence from the considerations of points raised above, the Pkt. of the NŚ. may be taken as presenting Ś. Pkt. *par excellence* of the Indian Nāṭya.

The NŚ. theory of the Pkt. also corroborate this view in two of its characteristics :

(*i*) It is the change of intervocal dental mute *t* to *d*. According to the majority of the Pkt. grammarians, this is one of the characteristics of the Ś. dialect.

(*ii*) The NŚ. prescribed that *āścarya* should be changed to *acchariya* in Pkt. (*vide* Rule 20 of the theory). But according to the spurious chapter of Vararuci's grammar *accharia* is exclusively a Ś. word आश्चर्यस्याच्छरियम्, XII. 30, Cowell's ed.).

Rājaśekhara also uses this word in his 'Karpūramañjarī.' (See I. 245, 2513 ; III. 312, Konow's ed.). This dramatist's knowledge of various Prākrits has been unjustifiably criticised by Sten Konow. (See my edition of the Prākrit Verses of the Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra, IHQ., Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4.)

But in addition to this, the theory contains certain items which seem to stand in our way of finally accepting the NŚ. Pkt. as Ś., though this difficulty, as we shall see presently, is more apparent than real.

That the word (Skt.) *kila* is changed in Ś. dialect to *kira* has not been admitted by Pischel (Gram. der Prākrit-Sprachen, p. 180). In support of this view he cites along with some later authorities Vararuci (IX. 5) and Hemacandra (II. 186). But having overlooked Vr.'s XII. 32 and Hc.'s IV. 286 in connection with the rules cited above, this great scholar seems to have made a mistake. The view of Vr. and Hc. on the point is quite clear; they allow *kira* as well as *kila* for both Ś. and its later form M. According to the NŚ. the Pkt. form is *kira*. We have seen before that this

Pkt. has the least chance of being M. Hence it may be believed that the *kira* in the NŚ. has been given as an exclusively Ś. word, at least that form of Ś. which was considered suitable for the stage.

The NŚ. theory of Pkt. allows a form *maa* for *mṛga* as well as for *mṛta*. This seems to contradict the Ś. character of the Pkt. in two ways. First, through the vowel *a* arising from the original *ṛ*, and secondly, through the total dropping of the intervocal *d* which was originally *t*. Let us take the vowel *a* (original *ṛ*) first. Pischel in his first edition of the 'Śakuntalā' (1877) accepted *maa* (=*mṛga*) as a Ś. word, while in his second edition (completed about 1908) he has altered his earlier opinion. This later edition published in the Harvard Oriental Series has changed all *maa's* of the previous edition into *mia* (*vide* Divergences of this second edition, pp. 250-252; ii. 0. 3, ii. 0. 10, iv. 15. 6; v. 21. 14). Looking over the examples cited in para. 54 of Pischel's 'Grammatik' it appears that *maa* and *mia* are equally available in Ś. But this scholar probably did not like to set great value on mss. offering the form *maa* as Ś. and hence decided in favour of *mia* as the only Ś. form. This, however, does not seem to be what the Pkt. grammarians of ancient India meant. Vr.'s rules I. 27 and 28, read together with XII. 32 allow *maa* as well, as a Ś. form. So do Hc.'s rules I. 126-128 read together with IV. 286. The rest of the grammarians also are of the same opinion. Thus *maa* has no difficulty in being accepted as a Ś. word.

Now, let us consider *maa* representing *mṛta*, in Ś. This loss of intervocal *d* seems to contradict the rule given in the NŚ. theory of Pkt. to the effect that intervocal *t* of Skt. should be pronounced in Pkt. as a weakly audible *d*. Now this is a real difficulty. But this single factor need not induce us to have a doubt in the Ś. character of the Pkt. described in the NŚ. This very portion of the theory may be a later interpolation. Or it may very well be that the rules

given in the theory are of the most general nature, details regarding exceptions being left out. And it is quite possible that these rules had numerous exceptions. Hence the weakly audible *d*, (*i.e.*, a spirantised *d*) ultimately would be lost leaving only the *udvṛtta* vowel. And consequently it may be an indication that Ś. was at that time showing signs towards development of a stage which we notice in the so-called M. Thus, whatever might be the case, both *mṛga* and *mṛta* having *maa* as their Pkt. form may not be any bar to that Pkt. being taken as Ś.

That the author of NŚ. meant Ś. by his Pkt. seems to receive final corroboration from the fact that *dhruvās*, to be found in Ch. XXXII, are all written in Ś. The injured form in which they are available might not have allowed one to recognize them as such. But in the same chapter of the NŚ. it has been distinctly laid down that the *dhruvās* are to be in Ś. [भाषा तु शूरसेनानां ध्रुवायां संप्रयोजयेत्; v.l. BK. भाषादि सौरसेनानां तु; RC. शूरसेनी स्यात् ध्रुवायाम्. XXXII. 408 (390), *i.e.*, the language of the *Śūrasenas*, should be employed in *dhruvā* (a kind of song in Nāṭya). This ignores the later innovation which prescribes M. as the language of songs of ladies. (For details see my edition of the *Prākṛta* Verses of the Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra, IHQ., Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4)].

The language of the *dhruvās* have already been discussed by the present writer and has been placed, on proper grounds, about 200 A.C. (*ibid*).

7. The Metrical Data.

After discussing the linguistic data let us take up the metrics of the NŚ. More than 58 metres of *sama*, *ardhasama* and *viṣama* classes have been defined in this work (metres using Piṅgala's terminology have been left out of consideration). All these metres have their illustrations side by side with these definitions. They seem to be specially composed

for illustrating the latter, and very ingeniously incorporate in their last *pāda* the name of the metre illustrated.

As the treatment of classical Skt. metres is much more elaborate in Piṅgala than in the NŚ. it may be presumed that the former (Piṅgala) belongs to a later time. But as we do not possess any satisfactory knowledge about the date of the Piṅgalasūtra the above presumption gives us no clue about the age of the NŚ. As for other available works on Skt. metres other than Piṅgala they are all later than the latter (Keith, 'History of Skt. Literature,' pp. 416-417). Hence they are scarcely of any help in the present case. But in spite of all these difficulties we are not absolutely without any resource in this matter. A comparison of metres used in the epics (R. and Mbh.) and the works of earlier masters such as Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Māgha and the author of Trivandrum plays, with those defined in the NŚ., may throw some light on the subject. The table of comparison is given below. This comparison is based on data furnished by the following works : E. W. Hopkins, 'The Great Epic of India,' Ch. IV ; Keith, 'Sanskrit Drama,' pp. 89ff., 123ff., 166ff.; Keith, 'History of Skt. Literature,' pp. 64, 107ff., 115ff., 118, 130ff. ; Sukumar Sen, 'The Language of Saundarānanda Kāvya' in JASB., Vol. XXVI (1930), pp. 204 ff. ; and *Aśvaghoṣer Mahākāvyadvaya* in 'Haraprasād Sambardhan Lekhamālā,' Cal. 1931, pp. 179ff. Symbols and abbreviations used in the table are as follows :

N. has been prefixed to metres occurring in the NŚ.

G. = Gorresio's ed. of the Rāmāyaṇa.

रामा॰ = रामायण, अश्व॰ = अश्वघोष,

महा॰ = महाभारत, कालि॰ = कालिदास,

भास = author of Trivandrum plays.

N. तनुमध्या	...	...	...	...	...	...	भट्टि	...
N. अनुष्टुभ्	रामा॰	महा॰	अश्व॰	भास	कालि॰	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ

N. इन्द्रवज्रा(उपेन्द्रवज्रा)	रामा.	महा.	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
उपजाति	रामा.	महा.	...	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. रथोद्धता	...	महा.	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
N. स्वागता	...	...	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
N. शालिनी	...	...	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
भ्रमरविलसिता	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
N. दोधक	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
वैश्वदेवी	G	महा.	...	भास	...	...	...	माघ
N. तोटक	...	...	...	...	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
N. वंशस्थ	...	...	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. द्रुतविलम्बित	...	महा.	...	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. भुजङ्गप्रयात	G	महा.	...	भास	...	...	...	...
जलोद्धतगति	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	माघ
जलधरमाला	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	माघ
N. प्रमिताक्षरा	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
प्रभा	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	माघ
N. स्रग्विणी	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
सुन्दरी (1)	...	...	...	...	कालि.	...	...	माघ
N. प्रहर्षिणी	रामा.	महा.	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. मत्तमयूर	...	...	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
मञ्जुभाषिणी	...	...	...	...	कालि.	...	...	माघ
रुचिरा	रामा.	महा.	अश्व.	...	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
मृगेन्द्रमुख	रामा.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
चन्द्रिका (कुटिलगति)	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	...
कलहंस	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
कुटिल	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	...
N. वसन्ततिलका	रामा.	महा.	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
N. असंबाधा	G	महा.	...	...	...	...	...	...
N. शरभा	...	...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	...

प्रहरणकलिका	...	...	...	...	...	...	भट्टि	...
प्रमदा	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
मञ्जरी (1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
N. मालिनी	रामा.	महा.	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. शिखरिणी	...	...	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	भारवि	...	माघ
N. हरिणी	...	...	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	...	...	माघ
N. मन्दाक्रान्ता	...	...	...	...	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
N. कुसुमितलतावेल्लिता		...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	...
महामालिका	...	...	...	...	कालि.	...	...	माघ
नन्दन	...	...	...	...	...	...	भट्टि	...
N. शार्दूलविक्रीडित	...	महा.	अश्व.	...	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
N. सुवदना	...	...	अश्व.	भास	...	...	भट्टि	...
N. स्रग्धरा	...	...	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
N. अश्वललित	...	...	...	...	...	...	भट्टि	...
N. पृथ्वी	...	...	...	भास	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
नर्कुटक	...	...	...	...	...	...	भट्टि	...
N. वंशपत्रपतित	...	...	...	...	...	भारवि	...	माघ
हारिणी	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
सुन्दरी (2)	...	...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	...
मञ्जरी (2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
चित्रलेखा	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
उद्गता	...	...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	माघ
*N. पुष्पिताग्रा	रामा.	महा.	अश्व.	...	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
N. आर्या	...	महा.	अश्व.	भास	कालि.	...	भट्टि	माघ
वैतालीयः	रामा	...	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
औपच्छन्दसिक	रामा.	...	...	भास	कालि.	भारवि	भट्टि	माघ
*N. अपरवक्त्र	...	महा.	...	...	कालि.	भारवि	...	...

* N. preceded by an asterisk indicates that the passage of the NŚ. in which the name of the metre occurs does not probably belong to the original text of that work.

मात्रासमक	...	महा.	...	...	...	...	...	...
उपस्थितप्रचुपिता	...	...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	...
धृतश्री	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
उत्सर	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	माघ
Anonymous	...	...	अश्व.	...	...	...	...	...

[*N.B.* The names of certain metres are different in the NS. The following is the table of divergence :

द्रुतविलम्बिता	=	हरिणप्लुता (NS.)
भुजङ्गप्रयात	=	अप्रमेया (NS.)
स्रग्विनी	=	पद्मिनी (NS.)
मालिनी	=	नान्दीमुखी (NS.)
हरिणी	=	वृषभचेष्टितम् (NS.)
मन्दाक्रान्ता	=	श्रीधरा (NS.)
पृथ्वी	=	विलम्बितगतिः (NS.)
कुसुमितलतावेल्लिता	=	चित्रलेखा (NS.)]

As a result of the above comparison we find that each of the epics as well as prominent poets and dramatists who followed them used metres not available in the NS. The number of such metres (*i.e.*, extra ones) are as shown below :

रामायण	...	...	...	...	5
महाभारत	...	...	...	...	4
अश्वघोष	...	...	...	...	7
Author of Trivandrum plays			...	...	2
कालिदास	...	...	...	...	5
भारवि	...	...	...	...	10
भट्टि	...	...	...	...	8
माघ	...	...	...	...	22

Now the NS. being the earliest available treatise on the classical Skt. metres (*vide* p. 30) we may well presume that

metres not occurring in the above work may be later in origin. Proceeding on the basis of this we may obtain some hints as to the date of the NŚ.

Let us discuss first the metrical position of the NŚ. and the three great poets (Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi and Māgha) whose works resemble one another in their technique. Each of these poets wrote only one *mahākāvya.* Hence the numerous extra metres used by them makes it highly probable that they were posterior in time to the NŚ. This would put the lower limit to the date of the NŚ. at 500 A.C. for the oldest among the three poets (*i.e.* Bhāravi) has been assigned to 550 A.C. (Keith, 'History of Skt. Literature,' p. 109).

The chronological relation of Kālidāsa with the author of the NŚ. has been almost settled (*vide* Keith, 'Skt. Drama,' p. 292; also 'the Pkt. Verses of the Bharata NŚ.,' pp. 14, 16). We have seen that there is a strong chance of Kālidāsa being posterior to the NŚ. This position is strengthened by the evidence of metrics. Five of the metres used by Kālidāsa not occurring in the NŚ. may be interpreted in this manner. Thus the lower limit to the date of the NŚ. would be shifted to 450 A.C.—the time generally accorded to Kālidāsa (Keith, 'Sanskrit Drama,' pp. 143 ff.).

Then comes the case of the Trivandrum plays in which there are two metres not to be found in the NŚ. They will have to be placed after the NŚ. if we like to depend on the evidence of metrics. As the author of these plays does not use any Mahārāṣṭrī and has named a Nāṭyaśāstra, Keith suggests that "it is almost probable that he and Kālidāsa had a knowledge of the prototype of the present text" ('Skt. Drama,' p. 292). Thus the Trivandrum plays can be considered to be posterior to the NŚ. And the upper limit to the date of the NŚ. will have to be shifted to before 400 A.C., a time usually assigned to the Bhāsa plays. (*Cf.* Winternitz, 'Problems of Indian Literature,' Calcutta, 1925, p. 125).

Next arises the case of Aśvaghoṣa who employs seven metres not to be found in the NŚ. and on this metrical evidence alone he may be said to be later than the NŚ. Such a finding would not at all be absurd; for the dramatist Aśvaghoṣa was most probably acquainted with the rules of dramaturgy similar to that laid down in the NŚ. (*cf.* Keith, 'Sanskrit Drama,' p. 82). And metres such as *Anuṣṭubh, Śālinī, Vaṃśasthā, Praharṣiṇī, Vasantatilakā, Mālinī, Śikhariṇī, Hariṇī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā* occurring in the drama fragments of Aśvaghoṣa are all to be found in the NŚ. (Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 90, and Lüders, 'Bruckstücke buddhistischer Dramen'). Besides these there occur in those fragments only one metre (*Upajāti*) which is nothing but a combination of *Indravajrā* and *Upendravajrā* of the NŚ. Those of Aśvaghoṣa's metres which do not occur in the NŚ. are available in his Kāvyas edited from late mss. and one is therefore not very sure that they are not spurious. Such view of things will of course tend to place Aśvaghoṣa after the NŚ. But in the absence of anything like definite evidence one is to resist the temptation of suggesting that the present text of the NŚ. may be earlier than Aśvaghoṣa.

Last of all comes the metrical relation of the NŚ. with the epics. The R. contains no less than five metres which have not been treated in the NŚ. But of these five, one (*Vaiśvadevī*) occurs only in Gorresio's edition of the R. and may well be considered spurious. In the Mbh. we come across four metres not occurring in the NŚ. Of those four, one (*Vasantatilakā*), occurring thrice in the current text of the *Ādiparvan* of the Mbh., does not occur in the recently completed critical (Poona) edition of the work and another (*Vaiśvadevī*), which occurs only in the current text of the Mbh., has little chance to retain its place in the critical edition.

Now what conclusion can we draw from this relative metrical position of the two epics and the NŚ.? Perhaps,

nothing very definite; for, complete critical edition of the epics are yet wanting. But in spite of this unsatisfactory condition of our data it may yet be possible to derive some useful hint from them. The extra metres of the epics not occurring in the NS. are all, except one (*Upajāti*), what Hopkins calls 'fancy metres,' and as such are, according to this close student of the Indian epics, later intrusions in the text. ('The Great Epic of India,' pp. 356 ff.) Thus we may well presume the NS. to be slightly earlier than the period which saw the completion of the R. and the Mbh. But to avoid any risk of error if we may take the composition of the NS. to be an event contemporaneous with the period which witnessed at least the final stage in the growth of the extant texts of epics. This would put the NS. between 200 A.C. and 400 A.C. (Winternitz, 'Gesch. der indischen Litt.,' Vol. I, Eng. Trans., p. 516 ; Hopkins, 'Great Epic of India,' p. 398).

Thus on the evidence of Skt. metrics alone the NS. may be placed roughly between 200 A. C. and 400 A. C. But besides the Skt. metres the NS. has in its Ch. XXXII definitions and examples of more than one hundred *dhruvās* in Pkt. verse which in a manner furnish us with a treatise on Pkt. metres. These metres are mostly *samavṛtta* and a few of them may be called *viṣamavṛtta*. The fact that they are syllabic metres (*akṣaravṛtta*) and not moric metres (*mātrāvṛtta*) are striking in the extreme ; for, *Āryā*, the so-called Pkt. metre, is non-existent among them. This fundamental agreement of Pkt. metres with those of Skt. becomes a bit puzzling when we find that metres of Pkt. *dhruvās* have only some four members in common with metres of Skt. [The names of common metres with their places of occurrence in the NS. are given below :

तनुमध्य ...	XXXII, 76-77 (80-81),	XVI, 2-3	(XV, 2-3)
मकरकशीर्षा ...	„ 80-81 (84-85),	„ 4-5	(„ 4-5)
विलम्बिता (प्रमिताक्षरा)	„ 151-152 (153-154 ?),	„ 44-45	(„ 40-41)
रथोद्धता ...	„ 308-309 (282-283),	„ 32-33	(„ 34-35)]

And our wonder increases still further when we find that among that Pkt. metres (more than 100 in number) of *dhruvās* none except nearly half a dozen appear in the 'Prākṛta Piṅgala' (Pr. P.). [These half a dozen metres are as follows :

मकरकशीर्षा (चउरंसा)	NŚ.	XXXII.	80- 81,	Pr. P.	II.	47-49
नलिनी (डोन)	"	"	96- 97,	"	"	43-44
मही (कमल)	"	"	133-134,	"	"	74-75
मधुकरसदृशा (तुंग)	"	"	135-136,	"	"	72-73
शलभविचलिता (विम्ब)	"	"	206-207	"	"	84-85
सिंहाक्रान्ता (पाइत्ता)	"	"	210-211,	"	"	80-81].

These peculiar phenomena should be explained before we may have a semblance of reliance on the evidence of Skt. metres in the NŚ. for fixing it to any particular age.

The first thought which may occur to a hasty observer handling this problem is that the *dhruvās* were probably later interpolations. But this explanation though handy enough has one difficulty in its way. Why should only half a dozen of the Pkt. metres be adopted by the possible interpolator and the rest be invented ? A change in names of the Pkt. metres adopted will also in that case be without a meaning. Thus the strange conduct of the hypothetical interpolator will appear to be highly incomprehensible. Consequently we are inclined to abandon this theory and accept the *dhruvās* as a genuine part of the orginal NŚ. This explanation however will give rise to another question. One may be asked to explain why the later writers on Pkt. metres, like the author of Prākṛta Piṅgala, have not followed the metres to be found in the *dhruvās*. This fact however may not appear to be inexplainable when we shall consider the character of *dhruvās* and the part they might have played in the evolution of *Rūpakas*.

Dhruvās were known to be sung in course of a play and constituted one of the technicalities of its production (NŚ.,

XXXII). To avoid monotony of these songs their words had to be made of different length, and words of any song could be sung with differing *tālaṣ* (=beats of time). Now the first of these means gave rise to a number of *dhruvās* in as many different metres. The number of existing *dhruvās* which are above one hundred probably show that the theorist of the NS had extended the smaller number of traditional or popularly-used *dhruvās* by his own invention. This over-elaboration in the matter is quite likely to have led to the disfavour in which it might have fallen ultimately and resulted in its gradual disappearance from use. This disappearance might perhaps have been facilitated to some extent by the rise of any new mode of singing which later grew in favour. But as the history of the evolution of Indian music is still a blank page we cannot put any great emphasis on the point. However, as the NS. knows nothing of the *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* of the later Indian music, a theory like the above may be accepted tentatively. It may be that the newly developed *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* might have caused the comparative disuse of *dhruvā* songs and the necessary disappearance of these metres.

Now questions regarding the Pkt. metres of *dhruvās* being explained we may put the NS. tentatively between 200 A.C. and 400 A.C. on the ground of its metrics.

8. THE DATA OF POETICS.

The NS. in its Ch. XVII (XVI) enumerates four poetic figures (*alaṃkāra*), ten excellences (*guṇa*), ten defects (*doṣa*) and thirty-six characteristics of poetic composition. In brief these may be called the NS. theory of poetics. According to competent authorities this theory is the earliest of its kind; for all the available works exclusively on *alaṃkāra* or poetics come after this (S. K. De, 'Sanskrit Poetics,' Vol. I, pp. 49-50; P. V. Kane, Introduction to 'Sāhityadarpaṇa,' p. XI). Now

Bhāmaha, the earliest among these latter, has been placed in the third quarter of the seventh century A. C. (S. K. De, *op. cit.*, p. 49. The question who between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is earlier is not so much important with us ; for, it is almost certain that Daṇḍin if not posterior to Bhāmaha was possibly his contemporary.)

According to one tradition Bhāmaha is to be placed before Bhaṭṭi (*circa* 641 A. C.) who is alleged to have illustrated the figures of speech (*alaṃkāra*) treated by the former. But on a comparison of the two authors one is inclined to doubt this (S. K. De, *op. cit.*, p. 50 ff.). For aught we know Bhaṭṭi might have been a contemporary of Bhāmaha or might have preceded him by a generation. The elaboration of the theory of poetics as applied by Bhaṭṭi when compared with the much simpler theory of the NS. will incline one in favour of separating the two by at least one hundred years. On this consideration alone we may put the lower limit to the date of the NS. in about the middle of the sixth century A. C. But, as for the upper limit, the theory of poetics in the NS. scarcely gives us any help. If however the mention of *Upamā, Upamāna*, etc., in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya can be taken as an evidence of the existence of *Alaṃkāra-śāstra* in his time we may put the upper limit to the date of the NS. in the middle of the second century before Christ (*cf.* S. K. De, *op. cit.*, p. 8 ff.).

9. The Data of Mythology.

In course of treating various topics, such as, *Nāṭyotpatti*, *Prekṣāgṛhanirmāṇa* and *Raṅgadaivatapūjana* connected with the stage and the production of a play, the NS. mentions the names of numerous gods, goddesses and demigods, etc. But as they are mostly mentioned merely by their name there is no means of knowing their exact nature. However a general review of these names may give us some hint as to the date of the NS.

Classified according to the system adopted by Hopkins in his 'Epic Mythology' the names of these gods, goddesses, and demi-gods, etc., are as follows :

N.B.—References are to the CH ed. of the NŚ.

I. *Lower mythology.*

Serpents, I. 10, 63, 89, 95, 96; II. 8; III. 27; IV. 254; V. 51.

Birds, III. 9, 29.

Waters, I. 88; III. 7; IV. 253.

II. *Spirits.*

Pitṛs, III. 27; V. 52.

Bhūtas, I. 87, 92; III. 8, 31, 40; IV. 11; V. 54 XXXIII. 216.

Rākṣasas, I. 10, 63; V. 47; XXXIII. 216.

Piśācas, I. 92; III. 27; XXXIII. 216.

Yakṣas, I. 10, 62, 63, 92; III. 8; V. 48; XXXIII. 216.

Guhyakas, I. 92; III. 8, 27, 30.

Asuras, I. 10, 63; III. 8; V. 46, 57; XXII. 16; XXXIII. 216.

III. *The eight great gods.*

The Sun-god, I. 62, 85; II. 5; III. 24.

The Moon-god, I. 84; II. 5; III. 24; V. 51.

The Wind-god, I. 62; III. 28.

The Fire-god, I. 86; II. 6; III. 25.

The god of Death, I. 90; II. 6; III. 26; IV. 253.

Varuṇa and Ocean, I. 61. 85. 88; III. 28; IV. 253.

Indra, I. 11, 21, 61; II. 4; III. 24; IV. 252.

The World-protectors, I. 85; III. 5; V. 50.

IV. *The host of spirits.*

Gandharvas, I. 10, 63; III. 7, 26; V. 46.

Apsarasas, I. 47, 87; III. 7; V. 45.

Kāma, IV. 252.

Aśvins, III. 5.

Maruts I. 85 ; III. 6.
Rudras I. 87 ; III. 6. 26.
Viśvedevas III. 26.
Ādityas I. 87.

V. *Divine Seers.*
Bṛhaspati III. 4 ; XXXIV. 79; XXXVI. 52.
Nārada I. 52 ; XXXVI. 66.

VI. *Earthly Ṛṣis and Personages.*
Bala(deva) IV. 254.
Nahuṣa XXXVI. 60, 61, 67.
Sanatkumāra III. 31.

VII. *The Three Supreme Deities.*
Brahman I. 1, 61, 93, 95 ; III. 4 ; IV. 1, 6, 11, 16 ; XXXIII. 207, 238.
Viṣṇu I. 62, 94 ; IV. 4, 7, 24 ; IV. 251 ; V. 100 ; XXXIII. 207, 238.
Śiva I. 1. 15, 93 ; IV. 6. 11, 16, 248 ; XXXIII. 207, 238.

VIII. *Lesser Gods.*
Kārtikeya I. 94 ; III. 4.
Gaṇeśa III. 9.

IX. *Goddesses.*
Sarasvatī III. 5, 25.
Lakṣmī III. 5, 25 ; IV. 252.
Umā (Pārvatī, Caṇḍikā) III. 251 ; V. 53 ; IV. 246.
Siddhi, Medhā, Smṛti, Mati III. 5.
Niyati I. 90 ; III. 6.

A comparison of the above names with those of the same classes occurring in the R. and Mbh. will show that the mythological elements of the NS. is very similar to those in the epics (*vide* 'The Epic Mythology' by Hopkins). Considering the fact that the NS. is very much smaller than each of the epics this similarity is very striking. Though absolute dependence on such a fact would

be inadvisable there may not be any harm in suggesting that the NŚ. was probably composed at a time when the epics were having their final shape. By discussing the metrical data also we have arrived at a similar result. Thus the NŚ. may be roughly placed between 200 A. C. and 400 A.C. (Hopkins, 'Great Epic of India,' p. 398, Winternitz, 'Geschichte der indischen Litt." Vol. I, Trans., p. 516).

So much about the estimate of the age of the NŚ. based on general mythological data in it. But a few particular facts in this line may yet strengthen the above view about the lower limit to the date of the NŚ.

The first of these is that though names like Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Upendra and Janārdana occur in the NŚ. the name Kṛṣṇa is conspicuous by its absence. Considering the fact that the Kṛṣṇa-cult existed in India probably some centuries before the Christian era, the silence of the author of the NŚ. about Kṛṣṇa is rather puzzling. Should we place the NŚ. in the hoary antiquity when the Kṛṣṇa-cult was still in the making? No, such an inference will probably be in total conflict with the evidence of other data. There is ample proof that in the first three or four centuries of the Christian era Kṛṣṇa-cult was having a vigorous existence in some parts of India. If, in spite of this we find Kṛṣṇa's name left out from the NŚ. it must be attributed to some sectarian rivalry between the followers of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. For some such reason the NŚ. betrays its partiality for Śiva and Brahman only (Ch. I, 1.). That Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Janārdana and Upendra have been mentioned in the NŚ. need not invalidate the above suggestion; for the *later* Kṛṣṇa-cult arose probably before 500 A.C. out of an identification of the God of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-cult with that of the tribal hero Kṛṣṇa. That the author of the NŚ. has distinguished between the two is amply evident. (For details about the 'Kṛṣṇa-cult' see Hastings's 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,' Vol. VII, p. 195.)

The NS. is also silent about the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. If this silence may point to anything it is that the work was probably composed at a time when the *avatāra* theory did not yet crystallise. For aught we know this theory was not finally established before 500 A.C. This would leave undisturbed our previous findings. (For the 'Avatāra-theory' see 'The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,' Vol. XI, p. 91.)

In the NS. *Yakṣa* and *Guhyaka* are different beings (I. 92-96) while Kālidāsa (*circa* 450 A.C.) identifies the two terms (*vide* Meghadūta, *Yakṣaścakre*, etc. and *Guhyakastaṃ yayāce*). Moreover the NS. has different deities with the name of *Mitra* and *Sūrya* while these two terms are synonymous in works like Amarakoṣa (*circa* 500 A.C. see Macdonell. 'Skt. Lit.' p. 433). It was surely due to a mythological syncretism that those two pairs of words later on came to mean only two objects instead of four. This may be said to corroborate our view given above that the NŚ. should be assigned to a time earlier than 400 A.C.

10. The Geographical Data.

The NS. contains the following geographical names (references are to the CH. ed. of the NS.) :

I. Name of Countries.

अंग XIV. 43, XXIII. 104.
अन्त(न्ति)गिरि XIV. 43.
अन्ध्र XIV. 38.
अवन्ती XIV. 36, 40, 51,52, 56.
अर्बुद XIV. 40.
आवर्ता (आनर्ता) XIV. 40.
उशीनर XIV. 47.
ओड्र XIV. 43. XXIII. 104.
कलिङ्ग XIV. 38, 43, XXIII. 104.
काश्मीर XIV. 42.
कोसल XIV. 38.
खस XIV. 38 ; XVIII. 50.
ताम्रलिप्त XIV. 45.
तोसल XIV. 38.
त्रिपुर XXIII. 41.
दशार्ण XIV. 41.
दाक्षिणात्य XIV. 36, 39, 51, 52; XXIII. 102.
द्रमिड XIV. 38.
नेपाल XIV. 43.
पञ्चाल XIV. 36, 47, 52; XXIII. 104.
पुलिन्द (भूमि) XIV. 45.

पौण्ड्र XIV. 43.
प्राग्ज्योतिष XIV. 45.
प्रांशुप्रवृत्ति(?) XIV. 45.
प्लवङ्ग XIV. 44.
बहिर्गिरि XIV. 43.
ब्रह्मोत्तर (सुह्मोत्तर?) XIV. 44.
भार्गवा XIV. 44.
मगध XIV. 36; XVIII. 45, 47; XXIII. 104.
मद्रक, XIV. 47.
मलदा XIV. 44.
मलवर्तका XIV. 44.
महाराष्ट्र XIV. 38.
मार्गव XIV. 44.
मालव XIV. 40.
माहेन्द्र XIV. 44.
मोशल (यवन) XIV. 38.
वङ्ग XIV. 43.
वत्स XIV. 43.
वनवास XIV. 38.
वर्तिका (मार्तिका) XIV. 41.
वाह्लिक XIV. 47; XVIII. 50.
विदिशा XIV. 40.
विदेह XIV. 45.
शूरसेन XIV. 47; XVIII. 44, 45; XXIII. 104.
शलाक XIV. 47.
सिन्धु XIV. 40.
सुराष्ट्र XVIII. 56; XIV. 40.
सौवीर XIV. 40.

II. Names of Rivers.

गङ्गा XVIII. 55.
चर्मण्वती (occurs in the KM. edition XVII. 62).
वेत्रवती XIV. 56.

III. Names of Mountains.

महेन्द्र XIV. 37.
मलय XIV. 37.
सह्य XIV. 37.
मेखक (मेलक) XIV. 37.
कालपञ्जर XIV. 37.
हिमालय XIV. 27.
विन्ध्य XVIII. 53.

IV. Purāṇic Geography.

(*a*) Eight Varṣas's of Jambudvipa.

भारत, हैम, हरि, इलावृत, किम्पुरुष, उत्तरकुरु XIV. 20; XXIII. 95-98.

(*b*) Mountains.

कैलास, हेमकूट, निषध, महामेरु, नीलवदूर्य, श्वेतपर्वत, शृङ्गवान् XIV. 27-31.

The first feature of this list is that some of the names such as Anta(i)rgiri, Bahirgiri, Plavaṅga, Malavartakā Brahmottara and Bhārgava, etc. occur very rarely in the Skt. literature. This probably points to the great antiquity of the NS. But this does not give us any definite clue about the age of the work. The Purāṇic geography of the NS. resembles that of the Matsya Purāṇa assigned to about 300 A. C. (F. E. Pargiter, 'The Purāṇic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,'

p. xiii). But as the Purāṇic geography of this kind occur in some later writings like mathematical works as well, we cannot base any sure conclusion on this. It may, however, be assumed that the NS. might probably have some relation to the forces due to which the older Purāṇas were written. If we consider all the above possibilities together with the fact that the vast array of names recorded in the NS. exhaust nearly all parts of India from the East to the West and from the North to the South we may arrive at a conclusion that the NS. was probably composed at a time when almost the whole of India came under the influence of the Indo-Aryan culture. As no satisfactory investigation into the subject has yet been made we cannot refer to any date of that event. However an opinion may be hazarded that it is almost sure that nearly the whole of India came under Aryan influence at the beginning of the Christian era. For at about the time of the rise of Buddhism Aryans were already having flourishing settlements of long standing in Vihāra or Magadha regions as well as in some neighbouring regions in the South where lawgivers like Baudhāyana were born. Under these circumstances it will be too much to assume that a vigorous people like the Aryans took more than six centuries to bring the remaining portion of India under the influence of their culture (*cf.* Prabodh Ch. Sen, *Vāṅglār ādi dharma*, in '*Vicitrā*,' Vol. VI, Part 2, p. 673, S. K. Chatterji, 'Origin and Development of Bengali Language,' pp. 64, 74). Thus we shall possibly not be committing any mistake if we place the NS. on geographical data alone between 100 A.C. and 400 A.C. For, from the 4th century onwards, history of the Aryanisation of India rests on dependable evidence like epigraphic records.

11. The Ethnological Data.

The names of some tribes such as Śakas and Pallavas in the work probably afford some clue about the date of the

NS. The passage in which these names occur together with the names of other tribes is as follows : शकाश्च यवनाश्चैव पह्लवा वाह्लिकाद्यः । प्रायेण गौरा कर्तव्या उत्तरां ये श्रितां दिशम् ॥ (Ch. XXIII, 103. KM. XXI, 89-90.) The variant to उत्तरां ये श्रितां is उत्तरां पश्चिमां which however is apparently a misreading. Now adopting the reading given above we have the fact that at the time when the NS. was written tribes like the Scythians, Yavanas, Pallavas and Vāhlikas were occupying a region lying to the north of the Indian Midland (*Madhyadeśa*).. Though there is no connected account of all these tribes we may yet turn this fact to account, if we follow the rather fragmentary history of Śakas. The earliest Śaka king mentioned in Indian inscriptions and coins is perhaps Maues (usually identified with Moga of the Taxila plate assigned to about 33 B.C. (H.C. Raychaudhuri, ' Political History of Ancient India,' p. 278). He attained power in the Punjab. Śakas mentioned in the NS. has every chance of being identical with the fellow-tribesmen of this Śaka king who ruled over a region lying to the north of the Indian Midland. But the mention of Śakas as northerners may not have taken place long before a time when a Śaka dynasty came to rule over Mathura, one of the principal cities of the Midland which is often credited with the birth of the Indian nāṭya. This would place the NS. at a period between 50 B.C. and 300 A.C. But as the chronology of the Śakas known as Kushans is very uncertain we are to take this date as subject to correction in the light of fresh materials that may be discovered in future.

12. The Data of *Ars Amatoria*.

The NS. once mentions Kāmasūtra (Ch. XXIV. 142). One is tempted to see in this the famous work of *Vātsyāyana* (*circa* 400 A.C.). But as the NS. in more places than one refers to *Kāma*(*mi*)*tantra* (XXV. 38, 53, 65) and once to

Kāmaśāstra (XXXV. 46) it is difficult to believe in the identity of *Kāmasūtra* of the NŚ. and the Vātsyāyana's famous work. And the expressions *Kāmasūtra, Kāmaśāstra, Kāmatantra* may not indeed mean anything more than *ars amatoria*. That the author of the NŚ. divides women into 24 classes (XXIV. 94-135) while Vātsyāyana divides them into 4 classes is a fact which may go to strengthen the above view. There is however nothing strange in the fact that he, possibly a later author, did not like to be guided by the author of the NŚ. who was no accredited authority on the subject. On this consideration alone the NŚ. may be placed in the fourth century A.C. at the latest. (For Vātsyāyana's date see Jolly's Introduction to Kauṭilya's 'Arthaśāstrā,' p. 29.)

13. The Data of Music.

The NŚ. treats of vocal and instrumental music in its Chapters XXVIII-XXXIV (KM. XXVIII-XXXIII). This portion of the work does not however contain *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* of later Indian music. On this ground the late Jyotirindranāth Tagore, the scholar and musician, has considered the NŚ. to be very old and in his article on the origin of the Indian nāṭya, where he considered some other data also for ascertaining the age of the work, expressed an opinion that the work might have been written either in the latter half of the 100 B.C. or in the first half of the 100 A.C., that is, between 50 B.C. and 50 A.C. (*Prabandha-mañjarī*, Calcutta, 1312. B.S., pp. 354-357). But this view is not subscribed to by some scholars who considered only the chapters (of the NŚ.) on music and arrived at a conclusion that the work was not earlier than 400 A.C. and might even be later. To explain away the indications of an older age they started with the assumption that the NŚ. was a work of many hands who belonged to different ages (*vide* P. R. Bhandarkar in I. Ant.,

Vol. 41, 1912, pp. 158 *ff.*) Arguments in favour of such an assumption have already been refuted.

But the rejection of the view that the musical chapters of the NS. cannot be earlier than the 400 A.C. does not enable us to accept the view of Jyotirindranāth Tagore without modification. The significance of the latter view is merely that it admits that the NS. is surely older than 400 A.C. This finds corroboration from the Harivaṃśa which describes a dramatic show accompanied by a considerable amount of vocal music (II. 89, Vaṅgavāsī ed.); for this work is ignorant of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* quite like the NS. Considering the important part that the *rāgas* and *raginīs* play in later Indian music their omission from a description of music in the Harivaṃśa cannot be accidental. This shows that the NS. and the Harivaṃśa were not very widely separated in time, and the period of their composition lay somewhere near 200 A.C. The Harivaṃśa has been assigned to 200 A.C. on the ground of the word *dīnāra* occurring in it, *vide* Hopkins' 'Great Epic of India,' p. 387; Winternitz in his 'Indian Literature,' Vol. I, p. 464, foot-note 2, refutes this view because he is under the impression that the Indian word *dīnāra* is first traceable from 400 A.C. in Gupta inscriptions. But it is to be found that in the Avadānaśataka which is placed by the editor Meyer in 100 A.C.; *vide* 'Avadānaçataka,' *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, St. Petersbourg, 1902, p. xv. of Preface). The fact that the Harivaṃśa contains terms like *Nāndī*, *Vidūṣaka*, *Abhinaya* *Pāripārśva*, *Pāripārśvika* (II. 92-93) strengthens our view that it might be very near to the NS. as regards the date of its composition.

14. The Data of the Arthaśastra.

We have seen before that *Kāmasūtra* mentioned in the NS. may not be taken as the name of Vātsyāyana's famous work.

And this view seems to be strengthened by the following: The NŚ. once gives definitions of *amātya* (XXXIV. 69-74; KM. XXIV. 62-70) and *prāḍvivāka* (XXXIV. 75-79; KM. XXIV. 70-74) and expressly mentions that in this matter the opinion of Bṛhaspati has been followed. This Bṛhaspati is evidently the famous *arthaśāstra-kāra* of the same name. That the word *arthaśāstra* twice occurs in the definition of *amātya* may be taken to corroborate this view. As for the date of Bṛhaspati we have no definite information. Vātsyāyana (*circa* 400 A.C.) in his Kāmasūtra mentions him. Pratimā (*circa* 400 A.C.), one of the Trivandrum plays, puts *Bārhaspatyam arthaśāstram* in the mouth of one of its characters. But the earliest mention of Bṛhaspati is probably in Aśvaghoṣa's 'Buddhacarita,' I. 46 (Introduction to Bārhaspatyasūtram, by F. W. Thomas, p. 3. The present text of this does not contain the definition of *amātya* but this work appears to be fragmentary). The fact that the opinion of Bṛhaspati and not of Kautilya has been adopted by the author of the NŚ. probably shows that Kauṭilya's work was yet considered modern (*i.e.*, not more than two or three centuries old) when the NŚ. was written; and hence Bṛhaspati, a more ancient teacher of the *arthaśāstra*, has been referred to by the latter. But according to Jolly *Vātsyāyana* is posterior to *Kauṭilya* (300 A.C., see Jolly) by a century. This would make it wellnigh impossible that the author of the NŚ. who might on other considerations have been merely a contemporary of Kauṭilya[1] could have known 'Kāmasūtra' written later.

The above discussion will therefore place the NŚ. roughly in the 300 A.C. at the latest, while the upper limit to the date will have to be placed in 100 A.C., *i.e.*, a century

[1] It should be mentioned here that Jolly's date for the 'Arthaśāstra' should be taken as the lower limit to the date of Kauṭilya whose *original work* is likely to have been recast, at least partly, in later times and to have been given a less ancient look.

before Aśvaghoṣa's latest date (Bṛhaspati, whose name was cited by Aśvaghoṣa must have been anterior to him at least a century).

15. The Epigraphic Data.

Sylvain Lévi in an article (Journal Asiatique, ser. 9, xix, 95 ff.; translated in I. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, p. 163) has tried to prove that the NS. was composed about the time of Indo-Scythian Kshatrapas some of whom like Chaṣṭana are referred to in inscriptions as *Svāmī*—a term to be found in XIV. 12 (KM. XVII. 75) of the NS. The term *Bhadramukha* also occurs in inscriptions and in the NS. (*l.c.*). And Lévi thinks that writers of inscriptions borrowed these terms from the NS. and is for placing the work in the first 250 years of the Christian era. This view however has been discountenanced by some scholars (Kane, 'Introduction to the Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. viii). But it cannot be said that reasons adduced by them are sufficient, and for aught we know Lévi's view is not without its importance.

16. The Conclusion.

There are some authors such as Abhinavagupta (1100 A.C.), Ānandavardhana (900 A.C.), Dāmodaragupta (800 A.C.), Mammaṭa (800 A.C.), Bhavabhuti (750 A.C.) and Bāṇabhaṭṭā (700 A.C.) who made direct or indirect reference to the NS. (Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. IX-X). On the ground of these references we are sure that the work existed in the present form in the seventh century A.C. But the lower limit to the date of the NS. will have to be shifted further when we consider the following different

lower limits which are, according to data named against them :—

550 A.C.	according to data	of	poetics
400 A.C.	,,	,,	metrical data
400 A.C.	,,	,,	mythological ,,
400 A.C.	,,	,,	geographical ,,
400 A.C.	,,	,,	data of *ars amatoria*
400 A.C.	,,	,,	,, music
300 A.C.	,,	,,	,, ethnology
300 A.C.	,,	,,	,, *arthaśāstra*
300 A.C.	,,	,,	linguistic data
250 A.C.	,,	,,	data of inscriptions

On a review of these lower limits according to different data we may infer that the work surely existed in the 4th century A.C. while its existence in the 3rd century A.C. is almost as sure. And in the present state of our knowledge we shall not probably make any mistake if we take 300 A.C. as *the lower limit* to the date of the NS.

As for the upper limit of the NS. too we are to make a review of the testimony of all the different data. This is given below :—

200 B.C.	according	to	data of poetics
50 B.C.	,,	,,	ethnological data
001 A.C.	,,	,,	inscriptional ,,
100 A.C.	,,	,,	geographical ,,
100 A.C.	,,	,,	data of the *arthaśāstra*
200 A.C.	,,	,,	linguistic data { Sanskrit / Prākrit
200 A.C.	,,	,,	metrical data
200 A.C.	,,	,,	mythological data
200 A.C.	,,	,,	data of music

From all these dates we may reasonably infer that *the upper limit* to the date of the NS. extends to 200 A.C.,

though it is likely that the work has absorbed the contents of some earlier work and may, to some extent, have preserved its language and hence goes back to 100 B.C.

Now considering both the limits to the date we may conclude that the present text of the NS. existed in the second century after Christ while the tradition it records may go back to a period as early as 100 B.C.

18-12-33.

SOME ABBREVIATIONS

Ch. — Chapter.

CH. – Chowkhambā ed. of the NŚ.

KM. – Kāvyamālā.

M. — Mahārāṣṭrī.

V., Vr. – Vararuci.

CORRECTIONS

Page 27, line 18. *Read* 'See I, 24^{5}, 25^{18}; III. 3^{12},'

Page 35, line 5 from the bottom. *Read* 'once' after 'only.'

Page 36, line 1. *Read* 'editions.'

Page 38, line 3. *Read* '*tālas*.'

" DRI-MED-KUN-LDEN'S NAMTHAR " IN ENGLISH

By

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The Biography of " Dharma-Rāja Sarva-Vimala " (Choskyi-rGyal-po-Dri-med-Kun-lDen), the Immaculate One (King of Religion).

" Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ." [1]

Salutation to " Ārya-Ava-lo-ki-teś-va-ra " (the all-seeing God).

In very, very ancient time (*lit.* ages beyond reckoning) there lived, in the capital city of the country called Betia, a king, called Bhupati-kīrti-śrī (Sa-sKyong-Drags-pa-dPal) who ruled at the head of 3,000 ministers and 60 vassal kings. He had abundant gems and jewels, of inconceivable varieties, in addition to a large variety of wish-fulfilling gems. Moreover he had a jewel called "dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms " (Cin-tā-maṇi), the

[1] The formula (Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ) mantra is recited by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School. The word " Oṁ " consists of three syllables a, u, m, respectively denoting the Creative, the Preservative, and the Destructive Principles of the universe collectively representing the highest Supreme Being—Dharma-Kāya of the Mahayanists, the Brahman of the Vedantists, the Absolute of the Hegelian (?) School. " Maṇi " means jewels, Padma denotes the lotus. *Vide* preface to Mr. Hannah's Tibetan Grammar, pp. viii and ix.

N. B.—Again the word " Oṁ " represents the three Kāyas as follows :—

(1) Ma—represents the " Nirmāṇa-Kāya " (sPrul-sKu).

(2) Naro—represents the " Sambhoga-Kāya" (Longs-sPyod-rdSogs-pai-sKu.)

(3) A—represents the " Dharma-Kāya " (Chos-sKu.)

most excellent of all, endowed with the property of accomplishing in a moment all that one could desire. That mighty king had (in the first place) 500 queens noted for noble birth; another set of 500 queens noted for their wealth; and lastly a group of 500 queens noted for their surpassing beauty. Although he had 1,500 queens in his palace, the king felt unhappy in his heart as he was not blessed with even a single child. A soothsayer and astrologer being consulted said that if the king worships God, offers cakes to the eight classes of spirits, and gives gifts to the destitute and poor, then he would get an incarnation of Bodhi-Sattva (Byang-Chub-Sems-dPah) for his son.

At this advice the king was highly delighted and did worship to God, offered cakes to the eight classes of spirits, and gave gifts to the poor and destitute. A short time thereafter, the highly accomplished queen, named Kalyāṇa-Bhadra (dGe-lDen-bZang-mo) that is "of Excellent Merit" who was amiable with all and immune from the eight defects[1] of womanhood, saw in an auspicious dream that a son would be born to her. She went to the presence of the king and said :—"O great king, lord of men, pray pay heed to me. I slept from the daytime to the end of the night and saw a happy dream. I have dreamt that from the 300 veins and arteries of my body emanated a

[1] In fact there are eighteen and not eight defects of women enumerated by Tibetans as follows :—

1. Ugliness (Mi-sDug-Pa).
2. Bristling hair (mGo-sKra-nGen-Pa).
3. Small or narrow forehead (dPral-Wa Chung-Wa).
4. Brown hair (mGo-Ser-rKya).
5. Yellow eyes (Mig-Ser-Wa).
6. Eyebrows disjoined (sMin-mTsams-Ma-hByar-Wa).
7. Flat nose (sNa-Leb).
8. Bottle-teeth (So-lTo-Wa).
9. Stammering (Dik-Pa).
10. Round eyes (Mig lZum-Pa).
11. Small eyes (Mig-Chung-Wa).
12. Crooked body (sGoor-Wa).
13. Large belly (lTo-Wo-Che-Wa)
14. Small shoulders (dPung-Pa-rje-nGar-Chung-Wa).
15. Hairy body (Lus-sKra-cen).
16. The feet and legs not proportionate (Yen-Lag Mi-mNyam-Pa).
17. Large or swollen joints (Tsigs-sBom-Pa).
18. Bad smell coming out of the body and mouth (Kha-Lus-La-Dri-Mi-Shim-Pa-Yod-Pa).

supremely blessed wheel, with a golden Vajra (Dorje), shining inside it. And noticed that the top of the Vajra (at last) touched the zenith of the heaven ; and the pencils of rays fully covered the ten directions ; and a pavilion was formed in the firmament by the rainbow and the light. I observed that all the intervening spaces between the three worlds (or in the "Antarikṣa" of the three intervenning regions) white conchshells were blown, all over the vacant spaces between the three worlds. These are verily the signs of an auspicious dream and they clearly portend that in this incomparably holy and excellent womb of mine, will be conceived a noble and blessed son in an auspicious day under the influence of the most benevolent stars. Let religious services be performed in all quarters." The queen having said so, the king was highly delighted and spoke in the following strain :—"O my Kalyāṇa-Bhadra (dGe-lDen-bZang-mo) perfectly agreeable to my heart, that the most blessed wheel with the golden Vajra (Dorje) shining inside did spring from within your person, comparable in point of holiness to the Maṇḍala (mystic circle) of the gods, by virtue of your continued association with me, unbroken even for a moment, is the symbol of the birth of one who will be the lord of all the protectors (of earth, that is, the prince). And the pavilion formed by the rainbow and the light is the sign of the advent of an incarnation of the Buddha (Sangay). The blowing of the white conchshells in the atmospheric regions of the three worlds, indicates that his banners will be acclaimed in all the ten quarters as the messenger of good tidings. They all portend that by the blessings of the undeceiving Protection (of all), by the blessings accruing from worship of God above, and as the fruit of giving charities below, a sonless man will be blessed with a son. All these indicate that my heart's desire will be fulfilled by you. Whatever religious services you asked for shall be performed. Let scriptural texts, Sūtras, and their exegesis be read and recited by three holy, blessed and pious 'Blamas' (Gurus), who are learned, venerable and pious along with five hundred great

scholars. Mudrās (mystic signs and gestures of hands, *i. e.*, Phyag-rGya), shall be performed in religious ceremonies in all quarters and places. The atmosphere shall resound with the thundering sounds of 'HUN and PHAT' uttered by the five hundred Mantra-dharas (sNgags-pas), and sickles of cakes (gTor-Zor) shall be hurled into the enemies (evil spirits—dGra-bGegs), attended with recital of mantras, deadly (in their effect); and unholy hostile spirits shall be crushed into powder. And sacrifices and ceremonies will be performed with a view to call forth good luck and blessings (Phya-gYang) in the house, mDos[1] and sickle-shaped cakes shall be thrown outside." Having said this, he had the ceremonies performed.

After the lapse of nine months and ten days, the prince was born. And immediately after his birth, the prince began to utter the formula "Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ" with tearful eyes, and did not speak any other thing whatsoever. He grew up to love all sentient beings, with a loving soul, inspired by a tenderness of feeling which a mother bears to her only child. The king and ministers with their hearts filled with bliss, christened him as "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" (the Immaculate One). Then after having performed innumerable ceremonies and religious services, they (the king and the ministers) placed him in a castle (precious), a house made of jewels, called the "dGah-wai-bSam-Gling" (Heart-delighting-place). When the prince reached his fifth year, he became thoroughly proficient in the art of Caligraphy, Arithmetic, and in the five branches of learning, and perfectly learnt by heart all the scriptures and religious books. Thereafter one day the prince said:—"I am the father and mother of all beings," and spoke out his message in these words, "Alas, my heart melts in pity at the thought for the poor creatures who, like myself though suffering from great

[1] "mDos"—A tall thin-pared stick or wand provided with cross-pieces and strings of various colours attached to the transverse pieces and thence to the upright stick. It is used in the religious ceremonies, intended to drive away evil spirits, who are supposed to resort to it when expelled from their victims. After the conclusion of the ceremony the stick is thrown aside.

miseries in the deep ocean of this world, still in their attachment so cling to the illusory riches of this deceptive world. Alas! what can be done that will avail in the midst of the endless miseries of this world? I pity those who don't shake off their selfish desires in this burning city consumed by the fire of desires and riches. Alas! wherever one may look, there is no escape from the endless gulf of fire of this world. Hence my heart melts in pity for the creatures of the three worlds. My heart bleeds to think of this world, where work, though done, never terminates and miseries likewise do not come to an end. I pity the miseries of those who, living in families, are deluded to hope that they will live together for ever. I pity those, who, thinking it to be their own, tenaciously cling to and pine for their fatherland, which is however like the sojourning grounds of shepherds. I pity those who make distinction between their own selves and others with regard to Him, who is the impartial father and mother to all the six classes of sentient beings. My heart melts in pity to think that the wealth and other objects of enjoyment which we, out of avarice, accumulate like honey, are, however guarded, enjoyed by others. I pity those who, carrying the heavy burden of sinful deeds, fall headlong into the abyss of hell. I pity those creatures who, deluded by ignorance, do not truly catch the sense of my words, though well explained. I pity also myself 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' (Immaculate-one), who has achieved his objects in the midst of these deluded creatures. Will it not be better, if I give away in charity the wealth and other enjoyable things which have been avariciously accumulated by my father. Riches, though accumulated, are useless and hollow in their essence." He having said this, the father replied as follows:—"O my darling, 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen,' my accomplished son, before your birth I had to suffer inconceivable misery for getting a son. Now, you can give away all my accumulated wealth according to your desire." Then the prince made charities beyond measure. All were freed from the miseries of poverty.

At that time a devil of a minister called Tara-mDses (Tārā-Sundara), went to the king and spoke in the following strain :—"O great king, lord of men, listen to me. All the treasures accumulated by you have been wasted by 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' A king without wealth will be a subject to another king. It is proper that the prince, 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' should be wedded to a princess and thus made attached to wealth." At this supplication of his (Tārā-Sundara's), all the king's ministers having held council, took as bride for the prince, the beautiful and brilliant princess "Mendhey-bZang-Mo" (Mendhey-Bhadra), loved by all, daughter of 'Zla-wa-bZang-po' (Chandra-Bhadra), king of "Pad-ma-chen" (Pad-mā-va-tī). The bride, humbly bowing to the prince with her hands placed on the crown of the head as before a Lama (Guru), thus praised him with a heart filled with rapture : "O prince, untouched by sin and a peer of the Bodhi-Sattvas (Byang-chub-Sems-dpah) far surpassing the merits possessed by all other beings, thou art possessed of wealth and majesty inconceivable (by men). Thou art like the gem, which accomplishes all things desired by one's heart. Having seen the paramount over-lord (Chakravartī—hKhor-los-hGyur-pai), 'bZang-mo' (Bhadra) is pleased and her heart is filled with immeasurable delight." The prince looked towards "bZang-mo" (Bhadra) and said thus :—"Thy body is of a goddess, never made by human hands ; thou art clever in dance, and endowed with a sweet, melodious voice. Having seen thee, O 'bZang-mo' (Bhadra), like a lovely goddess, I too am delighted and my heart is filled with exceeding pleasure. We two have been united through the power of our past prayers. Let us enjoy ourselves in happiness and peace." The prince having said these, the princely couple retired to the palace and enjoyed pleasure and practised the holy religion. In process of time, three children were born, the eldest son was named "Legs-lDen" (the Good-one), the second son was named "Legs-dPal" (the Good-fortune), the youngest, a daughter, was "Legs-mDses-ma" (the Good-beauty). And a great feast was celebrated with great pomp.

Then one day the prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" (Sarva-Vimala) in company with a host of ministers, went out to visit his flower garden. A large crowd was assembled at all the gates of the palace. They all looked despairingly towards the prince, helpless as a flock of sheep huddled in a butcher's shed. Upon this the prince cried out, "O All-knowing-Merciful-Divine-Father (Yidam[1])," and shed tears and heaving a heavy sigh he repaired to the palace with his heart subdued by an overwhelming grief. Therein the prince remained lying down, refusing all the food and muttering all the while "Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ-rhi." The king, his father, approached the prince and addressed these words :—"O my 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' (Sarva-Vimala), my good 'Dhondrub-dPal' (Śrī-Siddhārtha), in this holy palace called 'dGe-wai-bSam-Gling' (Cit-Ānanda-Dvīpa), enjoy all pleasures and happiness, the riches and glory, the objects of manifold desires. Why do you not enjoy them and be satisfied ? Why is it you are not content with all these luxuries but absorbed in grief ? Do not hide anything and clearly state (your complaints)." At this, the prince replied to his father thus :—"O father, thou lord of gods, deign to listen to me. Alas ! it causes grief to me when I contemplate the endless miseries of this world (hKhor-wa). These blind men driven by their actions (Las, Karma), and all the six classes of beings (hDrowa-Rigs-Druk) are apt to fall into the abyss of birth, decay, disease and death. My grief will disappear, if they escape the fall (into the cycle of birth) and are thus saved." To this, the father replied :—" My son, 'Dri-med' (Vimala), listen to me. The sorrows of men are the result of their own deeds. It is no use lamenting over them. So 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' (Sarva-Vimala), enjoy the fortune of pleasure and happiness. To violate my orders will be a great

[1] Yidam—A tutelary deity. Every family in Tibet has got a tutelary deity of its own, who is in a special manner entrusted with the task of protecting the family from dangers and calamities. In fact, the Tibetan Yidam is the counterpart of the "Iṣṭa-Deva" of a Hindu family. In some cases, even individual members of a family have their different Yidams—a phenomenon not unknown in Hindu families in Bengal at any rate.

sin." At this the prince humbly rejoined, "O my father, Lord of men, pray vouchsafe your ear to me. I have witnessed the miseries of the large crowd of men assembled outside the palace-gates. My sorrows will disappear if I might give away in charity the riches and treasures, avariciously amassed by you, to the poor, destitute and helpless paupers." Thereupon the father spoke these words:—" O my 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen-Dhondrub-dPal' (Sarva-Vimala-Śrī-Siddhārtha), I have no other objects to think of than you, my son. So, my son, give up all sorrows and do whatever you like." Having said these words the king made over all the keys of his treasuries to him and said, " Enjoy as you like my wealth." Then the prince heaped all the riches of the treasuries in one direction and having invited all the people of the world (hDsambu-Gling), made showers of gifts. The men at the instance of the prince, uttered loud the Mantra "Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ-rhi" and were thus saved from the miseries of poverty.

At that time the king "Cingtri-Tsen-po" (the Mighty-wooden-throne) of the barbarous land (Thakhob), called " Byema-Shing-Drung" having conceived evil thoughts, called together his retinue and said: "Oh my attendants, listen to me. There is a prince called 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' in the country of Betia who has made a vow to give away in charity all his wealth. I have heard with my own ears all sorts of men saying that he is freely making his gifts without any partiality. Now tell me who can dare to go and ask for his precious gem 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi)? To him shall I give half of my kingdom." He having said this, the attendants replied:—" There is no chance of his parting with the jewel; on the contrary, there is every danger to life." Some remarked, " The place is at a great distance; we shall not be able to reach it." Not even a single person came forward promising to undertake (the task). Thereupon an old Brahmin, who had not even so much as a single tooth in his mouth, not even one like a particle of pearl, alone stood up and said: " Oh great king, I offer to go. Make

ready for me provisions and clothing." Then, the king despatched the man, after giving over to him a suit of clothes and provisions. At length, the Brahmin, after having traversed many passes and valleys, arrived in the country of Betia. Then he stationed himself outside the palace-gates and remained shedding tears with his hand under the chin. A minister came out and asked him, " Old fellow where have you been from ? Whom do you want ? " The Brahmin replied : " I have been from the place called ' Bye-ma-Cing-Drung.' I have come here with a view to beg the prince 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' (Sarva-Vimala) some food and money." Thereupon the minister informed the prince of his prayer. And the prince highly gratified, came to the palace-gate, and said to the Brahmin, "Oh my friend, you have been from a long distance. Are you not tired and fatigued, as you have (evidently) traversed many passes and valleys and that quickly ? At once command what you desire. Your desire will be fulfilled by me." The prince having said this, the Brahmin, with tears streaking down and with folded palms prayed thus :—
" You are the only eye, infinite (in love) of all beings. My country is in the 'Bye-ma-Cing-Drung.' Our king 'Cingtri-Tsen-po' who suffered from a stomach disease for three years, has died (recently). Owing to the (calamity) the people and the officers alike have been humbled. They call me the Brahmin ' Blo-Gros' (Matimān) by name. I am the father of a starving family and am surrounded by a large number of children, like so many hungry devils. Without food they are left to starve by day and without clothes they are left naked during the night. You love one and all without distinction and you give alms to all without partiality. I pray the Crown Prince of Betia to make gift to a poor and destitute Brahmin like myself of a thing my heart desires. And until my death I make a vow of reciting the six letters (for your welfare)." The Brahmin having made this prayer, the prince conducted him into the treasury and bestowed upon him a large number of wish-fulfilling gems (Norbu-bSam-hPhel) and many other gems.

of an inconceivable variety of species. Thereupon the Brahmin observed, "Oh great prince, pray hear me. I have not come here to ask for these gems, but what I have come for is the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' jewel called (Cin-tā-maṇi). I therefore pray to pious prince 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen,' to make over the 'Cin-tā-maṇi' to me." At this prayer of the Brahmin the prince addressed him thus :—"My dear Brahmin Matimān, listen to me. As for this precious jewel 'Cin-tā-maṇi,' my father has not given it to me, nor will he do so now. To give away what is another's property is wishing the cause of a dispute. Therefore accept what is under my power. Do not cherish any hope for the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi)." At this the Brahmin rejoined, "Oh prince, pray listen to me. Having heard the great fame of your charities, I have come from a long distance, suffering a good deal of trouble on the way. I cannot bring myself to believe all the rumour (of your charity), if one's hopes are thus frustrated. If you cannot dare part with the 'Cin-tā-maṇi' (without a mental anguish), all talk of your making charities to other persons according to their desires is false. If this has become of your promise, alas! I cannot help pitying you. Now I must return to my country. I do not want these jewels, take them away yourself." Having spoken these words, the Brahmin went back in a fit of anger. The prince followed in the wake of the Brahmin and thus spoke to him :—"O Brahmin, do not think evil of me. With a loving heart hear from me the story of the origin of this 'Cin-tā-Maṇi.' It was given to the Buddha Amitābha (Hod-dPag-med) by the White-Serpent (Klu-mo-dKar-mo) that dwells inside the ocean. 'Amitābha' presented this to my father. The king, the lord of men, has not given it to me. The power and prosperity of his kingdom are all due to this 'Cin-tā-maṇi.' That the subjects and officers of the king are prospering and expanding is due to the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi). The three thousand ministers headed by 'Zla-bZang' (Chandra-Bhadra), also owe their

origin to this 'Cin-tā-maṇi.' That peace and happiness, wealth and prosperity, have accumulated in this kingdom is also due to the influence of this 'Cin-tā-maṇi.' The great king has derived all his glory and riches from this alone. This precious pot (jewel), generating as it does all the objects of desire, has also the supreme efficacy of vanquishing the armies of enemies. This jewel, extremely rare, is on the face of the earth, and though pre-eminent and supermost among all the gems in the three worlds, I shall presently make a gift of this very jewel to you, oh Brahmin Matimān (Blo-Gros), as it is the prescribed way of righteousness, although my life may be threatened with eminent death." Having spoken these words, the prince put the precious jewel inside a case (Gau) and gave it over to the Brahmin together with an elephant, adding the following words :—" Arise, good and great Brahmin, and immediately load the precious jewel 'Cin-tā-maṇi' on the youthful and strong elephant. The jewel, which is verily a mine of wish-fulfilling wealth and foe-conquering power. For, if my father comes to hear of this, he will pursue you and rob you of the elephant and the jewel. And not content with robbing you, he will put you to death. So give up your tardiness and be energetic and thus accomplish the great work on behalf of yourself as well as of others." The prince having spoken thus, the Brahmin said thus to the prince :—" Your counsel has been led to heart, oh Jina's son. Thou art the only protection of all the living beings of the three worlds. Thou art the incarnated person of the Buddha Sugata (bDe-gCegs), past, present and future. Thou representest the best way to salvation, guiding best the people of the three worlds. Thou art the foremost of all persons, who practiseth all the day the religion of Buddha. Thou art the vessel wherewith to cross the great river of this world. Thou art a brave hero. Thou art possessed of an army, powerful enough to conquer all the creatures of the universe. Accept my salutation, oh prince." Having praised thus, the Brahmin packed the jewel on the elephant and proceeded on his path. Thereafter,

the prince thus said his prayer :—" Oh Jinas (Buddhas) of the ten quarters along with your sons, I pray you all to attend to me. In order that the vow of making charities to the satisfaction of the desire of all living beings, that I have taken up in accordance with the teachings of the 'Theg-Chen-Chos' (Mahayana-religion), may be fulfilled, I pray that the jewel 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi) must not be robbed by others. May it reach 'mThah-hKhob-Byema' (ungenerate) country." Having said this prayer, the prince retired to his palace.

Thereafter about a month elapsed and the treasures were all exhausted in charity. The king, the ministers, the subjects and the officialdom gave themselves up in loud lamentations. Then, a devil of a minister, " Tara-mDses " (Tārā-Sundara) by name, approached the king (the father of " Dri-med-Kun-lDen ") and thus addressed him :—" Oh King, Lord of men, pray listen to me. Your Majesty's gem 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms (Cin-tā-maṇi), has been given recklessly away by your son to the enemy. If your Majesty thinks this one untrue, I pray you to inspect the treasury. What will you do with a son without the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi)? Will it not be good if you deal with him according to law?" The minister having moved thus the king replied :—" Is your information quite true, minister 'Tara-mDses' (Tārā-Sundara)? Any report that we may hear may be half true and half untrue. There is still time to make a minute inquiry about this. A minister should not give way to false accusation. I do not think he can dare to give away the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' to the enemy." The king having spoken thus, " Tara-mDses " replied :—" I have seen with my own eyes your son making a gift of the precious jewel 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' to the enemy. It was given to a Brahmin of a distant place. If you do not believe my words to be true, I shall not any more interfere with charities of a prince of the dynasty. It makes no difference to me, you may do whatever you please." With these words he

left in anger. The king the father too felt uneasy at heart, and he looked as if he had drunk the juice of aconite poison, with his whole person covered with a darkening shadow and his face turned completely black. Next day, immediately at sunrise, the king the father went to the prince. The prince bent his face towards the ground and the king spoke thus :—" Oh my darling, 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' (Sarva-Vimala), tell me a true word, my good son. You have been born of a father who gives light to nine million towns. Have you not given away to the enemy that great treasure of mine, which fulfils the desires of man from generation to generation? Speak out the truth, my son." At these words, the son folded his hands before his father but could not make any reply. At this the father again said : " Is it true that you have given away to the enemy the jewel, 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' though there are ninety-two thousand great cities, sixty principalities and three thousand ministers, five hundred precious wish-fulfilling gems, treasures in gold and silver in abundance, and though, over and above, there are vast wealth and treasures of pre-eminent excellence? " At these words, the son realised in his mind the futility of holding the secret any longer, as he could not produce the gem (Nor-bu) as challenged, made up his mind to make an honest statement of the fact and spoke thus :—"Oh great lord of mortals, pray vouchsafe your attention to me. It is true I have given away the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' to a Brahmin from a strange country, who came from a far-off land, undergoing the troubles of miseries (incidental to a long journey), a man without money and utterly destitute of food and drink and though possessed of a man-frame, (it was disfigured) by afflictions of hunger and thirst. I pray my father would not take any offence." Scarcely these words were uttered, when the king fell into a swoon. The hosts of queens also were overwhelmed with a mighty grief. In a moment the king recovered his senses and thus addressed the prince :—" The king of the northern region of five notes 'Shri Bhriha,' though

master of five tunes and possessed of high power and majesty has not got a gem like that. The southern region 'hDsam-Gling' (Jambu-Dvipa) is the place which produces all the gems of the world. The king of that country has no limit to his fame, but though possessed of high power has not got a gem like that. Even Indra-Bodhi, king of central region, noted for corals and Indra's treasury has no such gem, though his power and majesty are great. By that precious gem, a veritable mine (of wealth), enemies were quelled abroad and needs were fulfilled at home. That priceless gem, that rich mine, has been destroyed by you, a wicked man and an enemy. My kingdom has been thrown to the winds," so said the king.

The son replied :—"Oh father, oh lord of men, pray listen to me. I take especial delight in the path of charity. I made a vow to give away whatsoever another man might desire. If a supplicant comes up, I can even give away my son, my daughter and even my own life. Hence, father, do thou even lessen thy greed for wealth."

The father said :—" In previous times when we had the precious gem, our kingdom was stable and prosperous. Now in the absence of that very gem 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' my kingdom is lost to the enemy. Oh you, my enemy of my previous birth, what has been happened to you? What made you surrender the gem to the enemy without asking your father or consulting your mother? "

The son replied :—"Oh father of godly might, pray listen to me. Formerly both you and myself made a solemn compact, in presence of which I delighted in making charities to the destitutes and sufferers from infinite miseries and privations. And I did not apprise you that I would even give away the very children of my loins, my own life and the "dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' itself."

The father said :—" There had been many gems including even the gem ' bSam-hPhel,' (Wish-fulfilling) jewels, hoards of gold and silver, copper and iron, granaries of grains, hosts of

horses, elephants and buffaloes. All these we previously promised to give away. As regards your own life and 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' we did not make any promise to give them away."

The father having spoken thus, the son said:—"Oh father, oh king, please listen to me. Bees toil hard in gathering honey, but they reap absolutely no fruit of their toil. Although, father, you have an overpowering love for wealth, and you accumulate wealth with avarice, there is no fruit in it. Even a king, though he may happen to be lord of all the wealth of the three worlds, shall have to go with an empty hand without wealth at the time of his leaving this world for another beyond. Is it not then a delusion to entertain love for wealth which is confounding (in nature)? So, father, I desire you only to reduce your avarice for wealth. However much you may hug it to your mind, swayed as it is by avarice, now there is absolutely no chance for 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' coming back to your possession."

The father replied:—"Thou art an enemy of my former birth transformed into a son of mine. The 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' having vanished, the sun, rising with all the splendour has as absolutely set in the west as if it is the evening. My kingdom has been thrown to the winds. Alas! behold what has been done!"

The son rejoined thus:—"If you cast off self-love, and love, and liberate yourself from selfishness and from greed for wealth, you will be in a position to fulfil the desires of yourself and of all others and eventually the sun of bliss will rise. So practise virtue alone."

The father replied:—"Though I have brought you up with love taking you to be my son, you have destroyed my kingdom, actuated by evil counsels. I have no need of an enemy like you, who could throw away the 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms.' So I shall prosecute you according to law." Having said so, he delivered the prince, "Dri-med-Kun-lDen," into the hands of

the executioners. The executioners caught hold of the prince and stripped him of his clothes, bound both his arms behind his back, and having fastened a halter round his neck, took him out of the palace with a view to march him round the city. At that time " Mendhey-bZang-mo" (Mendhey-Bhadra), the consort of the prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" leading the three children, issued out of the palace to follow the prince. She was pulling out her hairs with her hands. Her eyes were flooded with tears and from the fulness of sorrow preying upon her heart, she loudly uttered forth these words of lamentation: "Alas! alas! what a pity so much misery would fall upon my worthy 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' of accomplished purpose! He has witnessed the sufferings of hell before his death. Will not the army of gods come down now? Will not the Buddhas give testimony to-day? May the gods and the Buddhas have mercy upon this innocent prince! Though my worthy 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' of accomplished purpose exceedingly delights in the path of virtue, the unappreciative king, and the foolish ministers and officers have all perpetrated this sort of merciless deed towards him. Between his son and wealth the king has preferred wealth (and not his son). Will not the king reconsider (his unjust order) and take pity upon his son, an examplar of religious devotion, the like of whom had never been before. Granted he is an enemy, how could he dare to treat him like that? Among the gods and Yakṣas of the shining heaven, among the great rulers of men and powerful kings, and amidst the puissant Kinnaras, is there not any one powerful enough to protect from this misery our poor selves, a mother and her children? If there is one, pray save us and we shall return your good services at the earliest moment. Alas! such a magnitude of misery one's heart cannot stand, nor even dare to think of! Why have I not died before witnessing this spectacle?" Having said so, she followed in the wake of "Dri-med-Kun-lDen." Thereafter the executioners thus equipped themselves with the following arms, *viz.*, arrows made of white cane, bows of big horns,

swords, spears, elephant-guns, and dressed in such a manner, creating fear in the minds of those who see them, with the terrific notes of big trumpets, surrounded the prince from behind. Some advanced forward leading him. In order to show him off to the people, they marched him round the city in daytime and during the night they kept him confined in an extremely dark cell. All this time the citizens gathered and made great lamentations. Then " Mendhey-bZang-mo " (Mendhey-Bhadra), together with her children was mightily depressed with grief. With her eyes filled with tears, beating her breast with her hands and weeping and sobbing, she thus spoke aloud :—" Oh Dri-med-Kun-lDen, shower of the true path, for your very great kindness for the poor, destitute and paupers you were looked upon as their beloved father. You boldly gave to his heart's content whatever might be needed by anybody ; and have not the fruits of your charity matured even now ? It is likely that the merits of my poor self and my children have all been exhausted that we have been reduced to such a predicament." Having said these words, she gave herself up to loud lamentations. Thereafter, the king called a meeting of his powerful ministers for consultation and addressed them :—" Oh council of ministers, hear me. The prince has improperly given the gem to the enemy. Such sort of action that I witnessed my heart could never dream of. Now what more punishment do you propose to mete out to him? Now, exercise your judgment, my hosts of ministers." Thereupon, some of the ministers said :—" Now, as he has been subjected to the processes of law, though a prince (of royal blood), it is proper he should be flayed alive." A few others observed, " It would be proper if he is impaled on the top of a stake." Others suggested, " His limbs should be cut to pieces." Some one put in, " Pull out his live heart." Some proposed, " Let his body be drawn out through a 'hJhoor-mig' (a wire-drawing instrument)." Some suggested, " That his blood be drawn out from all parts of his body, from head to foot." Others remarked, " His flesh and bones

be pounded together." Others observed, "Let his head be cut off and hung over the palace-gate." A few put in, "Let the prince with his wife and children be buried alive in a deep pit." Thus they expressed diverse opinions but could not come to an agreement on the form of the prince's death.

Then the king addressed his ministers thus, his heart having softened a bit: "This my son delights in the path of virtue. A descendant of the line of 'Byang-Chub-Sems-dPah' (Bodhi-Sattvas), who can dare to suggest a death sentence for him? So exercise your judgment once more." Then a minister, called "Dawa-bZang-po" (Chandra-Bhadra), of strong faith and spotless devotion to religion, submitted, "Ah me, you ministers in council, what is it you are speaking about? The king has no other son than this one. Without a king what will become of the subjects? I had thought it over and over again, but it aches my heart and I feel tempted to flee away to the extreme frontier of the earth. Now let the sovereign and father in one not take the offence and refuse to listen to the advice of these sinful ministers. Alas! the one wonder of the world, the most excellent and wonderful incarnation of the Buddha (Sangs-rGyas), possessed of virtues which are inexpressible and inconceivable (in their variety and excellence), a fitting jewel of the crown is this, our 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' On the occasion of his being taken out of the palace gate, I went to see 'Mendhey-bZang-mo' (Mendhey-Bhadra), going out with her children in the prince's wake. The crowd of citizens, old and young, male and female, all gave way to lamentations on seeing the prince beloved of all. There were many who offered to ransom the prince. They dared not look the prince in the face, when they happened to meet him. I appeal to you to set the prince at liberty and kill us in his place.

"Now, think again for a while, your Majesty and the ministers in council, that law is everywhere the same be it for the Horpa or Bodpa" (Turk or Tibetan). Is it proper to put two saddles on the back of a horse? As for punishing for

the offence of giving away the gem 'dGos-nDod-dPung-hJoms' the previous punishment has been enough, now set him free." Thereupon the father commanded, "Let the prince himself be brought here." Then the minister " Zla-wa-bZang-po "(Chandra-Bhadra) immediately went to the palace gate and loosened the rope that bound the prince and dressed the prince in fine garments. And after making a present of beautiful ornaments and a bow, he requested the prince to go to the palace. Now as the prince was making preparations for going to the palace, " Mendhey-bZang-mo " (Mendhey-Bhadra) and her children, thinking that the prince was being led away to be put to death, caught hold of the prince, with their faces covered with tears and would not let him go. "Zla-wa-bZang-po" (Chandra-Bhadra) was at once stung with grief at the sight and with his eyes filled with tears and his throat choked with sobs returned to the father-king and submitted, " I loosened the rope that bound the prince fast and as I was leading him it struck " Mendhey-bZang-mo" (Mendhey-Bhadra) and her children that the prince was being conducted to his execution and so they won't let him go. I too was overpowered with grief. Now, may it please your excellent Majesty to consider the matter." The king replied, "Well, in that case let all of them be conducted here." Then the minister "Zla-wa-bZang-po" (Chandra-Bhadra), conducted the prince and his consort and the three children into the palace. The prince, the princess-consort, and the three children made obeisance to the king and sat down in front of him. "Oh, enemy of my former life, born as my son, you gave away my precious gem to the enemy. You have rendered my treasuries and store-houses absolutely empty. The enemy has been gratified but myself ruined. Now in consideration of the manifold services you rendered (to the state) and considering the many (valuable) counsels given (in the past), we hereby command, you to proceed to the great 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang' (Devil-Hill), and remain there for twelve years. At once start for the place and stay no more in this country."

Thereupon the prince replied, "Oh father, mighty as a god, please listen to me. It is a fault of the king not to rule his kingdom in accordance with the principles of religion. Oh father, you showed scant mercy to me by delivering me to the hands of low-born executioners. The knots of the joints of my limbs have been battered down ; the whole of my body from head to foot has been scratched with thorns of iron ; like a wild horse they bound me with ropes and pulled me forward while others urged me on from behind ; I was surrounded by the hosts of the executioners as if I was an enemy and was exposed to the market like the swords of a hero. Like a dead body I was stripped of my clothes and made naked. Like a pious man of faith I was marched round the city by day and I was kept at night hidden in a pit like stolen treasure. A shower of arms rained over my (devoted) head as upon a heinous criminal. May no sentient being undergo the sufferings that I have suffered! I have no need of all these illusory wealth and in compliance with my father's orders, I too desire to go away. May father and mother go on enjoying excellent health and peace and happiness by the good will of our subjects and attendants!"

Having said so, the prince, his consort and the children, altogether a party of five, repaired to their own palace and having made gifts of whatever wealth remained in his possession, made preparations for proceeding to the "bDud-ri" (Devil-Hill). (On the eve of his departure) the ministers and the subjects made farewell presents to him. The 60 tributary chiefs each presented a gold coin. The 3,000 ministers each presented a silver coin. The 90,000 subjects gave various and manifold presents, horses, elephants and so on. The prince made free gifts of all these wealth and leaving no remnants in his hands thus addressed "Mendhey-bZang-mo": "Oh Mendhey-bZang-mo! pray give your ears to me. I shall proceed to the hill called 'Ha-shang' in obedience to my father's commands. In the country of 'Padma-chen' (Pad-mā-vatī), is your father's palace (capital); you—mother and children all four,—return to the place and stay there

happily. Oh my holy friends, beloved of my heart, may you enjoy good health for these twelve years and I pray that I may be united again with you four—mother and children—and all my retinue. Now, fare you well."

Mendhey-bZang-mo saluted the prince and said: "Oh holy prince, you being separated I do not dare to go to 'Pad-ma-chen.' If you go to 'Ha-shang Hill' how can we mother and children dare live? After having kept together at the time of weal, how can one dare to be separated at the time of woe. One cannot suffer these even when conceived of in the mind, how can one dare do this in act ? You better take us please to the place you go."

Then the prince said :—" Oh 'Mendhey-bZang-mo' ! do not utter such things. You live in the region of pleasure which is the fatherland of happiness. There are the two parents (the father and the mother), to whom you can resort for advice. There are these three children to whom you can rely. As for the worldly affairs the male and female servants will do them for you. You may live together in company of those with whom your mind is in union. You can sit on the cushions of Panchali and Padma. If you are hungry you can take the hundred [1] different tasteful dishes of great relish. You may drink, if thirsty, the nectarlike water always. If you are sorry in the inmost heart, listen to songs and witness dances. In the Devil-Hill called 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang-rKem-rKem' at the time you feel hungry you will get nothing but fruits and at the time you feel thirsty nothing but water. For the wearing of dress there is nothing but leaves of trees and for the cushions nothing but grass. As for the friends in the time of sorrow there are none but the birds and wild game. No men are to be seen during the day, and at night a multitude of evil spirits (may be found). That is a place of great horror. Rain and snow fall both day and night. As there is not a place in which you can reside there, you better reside in the palace. I will come back soon."

[1] In the text it is written 'brGyed' for 'brGya.'

"Mendhey-bZang-mo" too held the prince by the hands and said :—"Oh prince! if you do not take me as your maid-servant, then this day 'bZang-mo' (Bhadra) will do away with her life. In your absence on whom will my hopes rely? Do not leave me; please take me as an attendant."

Then the prince said :—"bZang-mo,' listen to me. If somebody asks me I will give away to him my wife and children. I will give my life to one who desires for it. At that time you will cause hindrances to my alms. It is better that you—mother and children—stay here."

"bZang-mo" said :—"Oh great prince, please listen to me. Please take me with you. I will be a helping hand to your alms-giving. If you give us away—mother and children—we shall do whatever you ask us (to do) for the fulfilment of your desire. For that please promise to take us as your attendants."

When she said thus, the prince promised to take with him "bZang-mo" (Bhadra) mother and her children.

Then "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" went to his own mother "dGe-lDen-bZang-mo" (Kalyāṇa-Bhadra) and with obeisance told her thus :—"Oh mother who has given birth to all the Buddhas of the three periods, who possessed the four immeasurable (Tsed-med) virtues[1] and the ten Transcendental virtues (Pharol-Phyin-bCu),[2] who is a mother ripening the fruit of the fulfilment of our desires and hopes—oh great mother, please listen to me. The 'Norbu dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (gem Cin-tā-maṇi) was given by me to the enemy. My father has been angry with me and inflicted upon me a heavy punishment. I go now to that "Devil-Hill" called 'Ha-shang-rKem-rKem' where I

[1] The "Tsed-med-bShi" (the four immeasurable virtues) are :—(1) Love (Byams-pa), (2) Patience (bZod-pa), (3) Joy (dGah-wa), (4) Mercy (rNying-rJe).

[2] The "Pharol-Phyin-bCu" (the ten Transcendental virtues) are :—(1) Charity (sByin-pa), (2) Patience (bZod-pa), (3) Morality (Tsul-Khrims), (4) Assiduity and Industry (brTson-hGrus), (5) Meditation (bSam-gTan), (6) Wisdom (Ces-rab), (7) Means or Resources (Thabs), (8) Fortitude (sTobs), (9) Divine Knowledge (Ye-Ces), (10) Prayer (sMon-Lam).

have been exiled for twelve years. Up to that time may no disagreeable cause happen to your person nor sudden accident of illness befall thee. On my part if I do not die, I shall offer prayers that mother and son may meet very soon." At this his mother fell into a swoon. Then after a short time having recovered, the mother held her son by the hand and with her eyes filled with tears said :—" Oh my ' Dri-med-Kun-lDen ' (Sarva-Vimala) I am the mother from whom you were born first. Oh my son—beloved of my heart—leaving me do you dare go to the dreadful hill? If you go to ' bDud-ri ' (Devil-Hill) for twelve years, an old woman like me cannot live for twelve years of human life. If you are absent, on whom shall I rely ? Alas ! what a pity is it to be separated from a son in old age. Whatever the great king may think of in his mind now, he pondered over the innumerable sorrows of not having a progeny formerly. By the graces of God above earned by worshipping Him, by the fruits of the gifts made here below and by the blessing of the undeceiving refuge (of men), was born to us a son who was very much rare. While all the people of the world (hDsam-bu-Gling—Jambu-Dvipa) are praising you, what does the king seek to do by putting you away in a far-off, distant place? I had all along been satisfied with (my fate), before you were born to me. Now that a son has been born to us, has not the great king been deceived by a devil in putting him in such a situation?"

The son replied :—" Oh my great mother, do not shed tears. Among all the sentient beings of the three worlds, separation after union is the usual destiny. It is of course right that you should fasten your heart upon me, O my great mother, as I am born from the flesh and blood of your body. If no calamity supervenes, there will be a time in the long run when we would meet. I pray that mother and son may again meet in this life. If it be so that there happens no meeting in this life, I pray for meeting in the holy heaven in our next life." The son having said so, the mother seized the son by the hand and plenty of tears flowed down from her eyes. Then the mother, remembering that it would

be inauspicious to shed tears on the eve of her son's departure to a distant place, wiped off the tears with her hands, and making obeisance to the gods of the ten directions, made this prayer :—"Oh ye presiding deities of the ten directions, each an ocean of power, oh Jina-Putras, Arhatas and Bodhi-Sattvas, oh mighty Protectors, 4 Maharajas,[1] oh Master of the mines, oh gods of wealth and you too, oh hosts of 'mKha-hGro-ma' (Dākinis), oh presiding deities of the place—gods, Nāgas (snakes), Yakṣas, all of you, listen to me—and consider my case. At the time when he is on his way, may this son of mine be not compelled to secede from the goal but may he reach it. May he not experience a bit of the sufferings of fatigue while he crosses quickly numerous passes and valleys. While he stays at the 'bDud-ri' called 'Ha-shang-rKem-rKem' may his residence be like the palace of gods. At the time when he partakes of the pieces of fruits and such other things, may they turn out to be nectarlike with hundred[2] different delicious tastes. At the time he is to drink water (to allay his) thirst, may there be a continual flow of milk in that. While he has to use the leaves of trees as his dress (to put on) and his mat (to sit upon) may they turn out to be the mats of Panchali and Padma. While the ferocious wild animals roar in anger, may their voices turn out to be the sounds of the Mahāyāna (Theg-chen) religion. While the water of the impassable narrow valleys or defiles make roaring sounds, may they turn out to be the sounds of the six letters (Yige-drug-ma, *i.e.*, Oṁ-ma-ṇi-pad-me-huṁ). At the time when he is fatigued with the heat of the deep narrow valleys, may the children of the gods bestow upon him cool shade. While he stays at the solitary fearful hills, may the Buddhas turn out to be his friends in sorrow.

[1] The rGyal-chen-sDe-bShi (the four Maharajās) are :—(1) Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Yul-hKhor-Srung), (2) Viḍhuḍaka (hPhags-sKyes-po), (3) Virupākṣa (sPyan-Mi-bZang), (4) Vaiśravaṇa (rNam-Thos-Sres).

[2] In the text it is written 'brGyed;' this I think is a mistake and I have translated as 'brGya.'

While illness originating out of his own 'Karma' (Las) comes upon him, may he be healed miraculously in the same way as a doctor would have helped to live. In short, in whatever direction he may stay, may there be no sorrows and sufferings but may he enjoy peace and happiness. May the necessaries of life be all perfectly favourable to him. May all the desires of the prince 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' be fulfilled as the leaves of the 'dPag-bSam-cing' (Wish-fulfilling trees). By the true words spoken by me out of my heart in this prayer offered, may the mother and son meet again very soon.". In this way she offered prayers. Then the prince and his consort with her children, a company of five, starting for the "bDud-ri" (Devil-Hill), with two horses for pulling the prince's carriage, with two horses for pulling the carriage of his consort and children, and with three elephants to carry their rations, began the journey. Then the mother "dGe-lDen-bZang-mo" (Kalyāṇa-Bhadra), being the chief leader of the 1,500 queens and the king "bZang-po" (Bhadra), and others at the head of 60 other petty kings, and the ministers "Zla-wa-bZang-po" (Chandra-Bhadra) and others at the head of the 3,000 other ministers, "Khyim-bDag-dPal-lDen" (Shri Bhupati), and others at the head of many subjects and servants, uttered lamentations and bewailed out of sorrow and accompanied him to a long distance. Then at the time of travelling over many passes and countries, this thought crossed the mind of the prince, that the multitude of men who were accompanying him were getting fatigued and exhausted and he said :— "Oh my great mother and O ye crowd of queens and others, oh ye chiefs and others and 'Zla-wa-bZang-po' (Chandra-Bhadra) and hosts of ministers, oh 'dPal-lDen' (Shri-Man) and others and ye subjects and servants, it is very good of you that to do away with Pluto, you have accompanied me over mountain passes and over the countries out of love towards me. Individual separation after association together is the characteristic of temporary meetings. I, too, am highly

content at heart. Now all of you better return to your own lands and act there in accordance with your religion. Remember death (uncertainty of life) and bestow your body and life as gifts. Entrust "dKon-mChog-gSum' (Trinity—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) with your hopes of the present and the next life. Think of the foremost of all—about 'Blama' (Guru) from whom you will receive blessings. Worship the 'mKhah-hGro' (Dākinis) and 'Chos-sKyong' (Dharma-pālas, *i.e.*, Guardians of Religions), to remove your dangers and misfortunes. I also pray that after the elapse of twelve years, hale and hearty I may meet you when I return to my motherland. In case we do not meet in this life, may we meet in the 'Dak-Pai-Cing' (Heaven) in the next life."

He having said so, the multitude of servants and subjects uttered sorrowful lamentations and bowing down to the prince they returned. Then the mother "dGe-lDen-bZang-mo" (Kalyāṇa-Bhadra) holding the prince by the hands said:—"My child 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen-Dhon-Grub-dPal' (Sarva-Vimala-Shri-Siddhārtha), fruit of my former life and my heart's essence, taking out my heart I send it to the dreadful hill. The mother is getting separated from her heart's essence to-day. The sun of association in this life has just set. To whom shall I trust my hopes in this life? The devil of a satanic minister has poisoned the mind of the great king, your father, into a hostile attitude, so much, that he has been induced to perpetrate much unseemly acts. Now, my son, possessed as you are of the holy spirits of the Bodhi-Sattvas, proceed on and do not even for a moment give way to grief of misery. My son, time will come when my heart will yearn to cry out, 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' In the three months of summer when the blue dragon will send forth thundering sound, I shall be reminded of you, my son, and send forth my prayers and I, your hapless mother, shall thrice call out 'Oh you my son!' 'Oh you my son!' Thrice shall I call out 'O Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' You too, my son, shall thrice call out 'O mother.' In the

months of winter, that season of winds and hail-storms, I shall remember you, my son, and send my prayers, and I shall call out ' O my son ' three times at a time and thrice cry out 'O Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' And you too, my son, shall call out thrice 'Oh mother,' 'Oh dGe-lDen-bZang-mo.' In the spring when the season of the blue cuckoo will come, I shall remember you, my son, and send my prayers and I shall call out ' Oh my son ' three times at a time and thrice cry out ' Oh Dri-med-Kun-lDen.' And you too, my son, shall call out thrice 'Oh mother,' ' Oh dGe-lDen-bZang-mo.' Pray remember me, your mother, all the time with a loving tenderness. I am sure to meet my son again in this life. In case there be no meeting in this life I pray that we should meet in the next life in our career towards salvation." Having spoken these words and shed copious tears, she went back to her palace.

Thereafter the prince, and his consort and the children, in all a party of five, came upon a narrow defile and looking back, noticed that the party of the people, that accompanied him all the way to see him off, had gone back far away. Then on the narrow defile through which the prince and the princess were advancing, three beggars appeared before them and begged for alms. The prince was highly pleased and remarked : "These precious elephants though highly serviceable in a journey, and though the immeasurable wealth of the world might not purchase them, and though I may stand in extreme need of them, I make a gift of them to you, oh Brahmins, with a view to fulfilling your desire." With these words he gave away the elephants. Thereafter when they had proceeded about the distance of a "dPag-Tsed." (yojana), and came to a place called "Kaling-sKyid-mDah" (Lower-Happy-Kaling), five beggars appeared before the prince and asked, "Pray give these horses to us." He said, "This is very good," and gave away the horses, observing, " These precious horses are the best of their kind and swift as the wind. This charming chariot is adorned with garlands of flowers. May these, by virtue of the power of

gifts of an extremely pure soul, be endowed with the magical powers of the wind."

Then the prince led the way, putting the children between him and 'Mendhey-bZang-mo' (Mendhey-Bhadra), who was carrying a small wallet of rations.

The party arrived at a place, called "dPal-bSam-Gling" (Shri-Kalpa-Dvīpa). There was in that land a lovely place, embellished with abundant flowers, high hills, clean fields, rivers with pellucid water, where numerous animals and birds were playing on the green swards of the hills. There under the shade of a "Tala-cing" (palm-tree) the party took their seat and refreshed themselves. Thereafter 'Mendhey-bZang-mo' (Mendhey-Bhadra) went to the side of the river, flowing by and drank a few drops of water. Then she looked far and near and finding no human being near about and seeing only birds and wild beasts playing about, was seized with grief and in this way expressed her grief :—

"Oh, alas! 'bZang-mo' (Bhadra) is pained in her heart to see only wild beasts sporting about, with no chance of having the agreeable society of a human being. Accumulated wealth is of no avail in such times when the princess has to go out to drink water. I had not the faintest idea that such a state of things would ever come to pass; probably these are the fruits of evil deeds of our former lives." Thereupon, the prince thought "bZang-mo" has been suffering terrible pain in her heart in this solitary place, devoid of human beings and the difficulties of the journey still remains; and besides there is constant apprehension from ferocious beasts. So it would be better to send her back, and thus spoke to her :— "Oh 'Mendhey-bZang-mo,' listen to me. There is still a very long path to traverse and immeasurable sufferings through hills and dales are in store for us and very great is the fear of wild beasts of various descriptions. It is not at all possible for you to face these difficulties. Is it not better that you should go back?" At these words of the prince, "bZang-mo" (Bhadra) made this reply after

saluting him, "O great prince, pray listen to me. I was speaking nonsense just now. Without you upon whom should I rely? How can I dare to separate from you, O prince? There is no wavering ; take me wherever you go." Then having proceeded from the place, they rested on the way by reclining upon a green grassy sward. There princess " bZang-mo," being seized with an overpowering sorrow spoke these words in a tone quite inaudible to the prince, " O thou brilliant valley ! clothed with green grass of resplendent hues, destitute of human beings, withal the resort of bees and flies, singing, dancing, and playing, resounding with the varied and manifold cries of birds, in whatever direction I look at thee, thou causest grief to me ! Now I put to thee, 'Has the kingdom of Betia become safe by putting away the father and mother with their children in a far-off land? ' " Having said this, she and the prince went on their journey and came near a high hill, on the top of which there was a lovely clean tableland endowed with plenty of fruits, where wild creatures were frolicking about. Thereupon, "Mendhey-bZang-mo" said, "O great prince, please listen to me. This place is a delightful one embellished with varieties of blooming flowers; it is washed by the pellucid waters of mountain springs, and resounding with the sweet notes of the cuckoo. There is an abundance of fruits and wild creatures are merrily frolicking about. Will it not be good if we make our abode here? " The prince replied, " It will be a crime on my part to go against my father's orders. No, we should not stop here, but advance to 'Ha-shang Hill.' " Having spoken these words, they proceeded on their journey. Now the three children got foot-sore and were left behind. Then the prince made the following prayers :—"Oh merciful Lamas, Yidams and angels of the sky, and mighty presiding deity of the locality, have the kindness of fulfilling my prayer. Although we two are able to walk on foot all the way to our destination, where we are to arrive quickly having hurriedly covered the whole distance, these children of tender age cannot go quickly enough. It would be better if that ' bDud-ri' (Devil-Hill) could

be near at hand.'' And that hill came nearer within a distance of five "dPag-Tsed" (yojanas). And they proceeded onward, and arrived upon a valley called "rLung-Ba-Den-gYo-Wai-Tsal" (Garden of waving flags). "And further on, they came to a place, called the "dGah-Wa-Padmai-Tsal" (Pleasure garden of lotuses). There in that wild garden of lotus beds, the blooming lotuses seemed to be smiling with pleasure. And "Mendhey-bZang-mo" addressed the lotus plant thus :—"Oh water-born plant, having emerged out of the water, thou art smiling with glee, adorned as thou art with the anthers of lotuses. Having reverentially risen up, with the folded fingers of thy hand placed on the crown, thou art moving and dancing."

And advancing further on, they came to a place called "Zangs-Gling-dPal-gyi-Hod" (Tamar-Dvīpa-Shri-Prava). There three Brahmins appeared and saluting him said thus :—"Pray give us a gift as we desire." The prince, being requested thus, greeted them with these words, "Whence are you three? Have you suffered any hardship (on your way)?" One of them replied, "We three are from the 'Byema-gSer-Gling' (Land of golden sands). I have reached the eighty-eighth (88th) year of my life. I have got a youthful Brahmin girl for my wife. And as I am old, she does not love me and abuses me much. And the people (of the locality) have been giving her evil counsels to this effect :—'You are a young woman and you are living with such an aged man.' And on their advice, she has been living as the wife of other two Brahmins and she does not love me, old as I am, nor does she let me live in peace." She said :—'If you and I two are to live together, you three go out and must get the three children of prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" for my servants. If this is done, I shall stay with you. If not I shall stay no more.' On my having replied that there was no chance of getting these three children, she retorted, 'Nay, the prince has taken a solemn vow to give whatever things one might ask of him. So the gifts will come; you go.' So we have come." The prince said :—"That is allright. But these three children are

very young. They cannot be of any service to you. Besides it will be a pity to separate them from their mother." The Brahmin replied :—" What is there to pity? We are not going to kill them. We shall give them work as will be suitable to them." Thereupon the prince thought of his vow to give whatever a man might desire and decided on giving them away. Then apprehending that " Mendhey-bZang-mo" might not stand the situation, he said to her, " Oh 'bZang-mo,' you better go and find some fruits and entertain these three guests." Thereupon, " bZang-mo " went out in quest of fruits. But that there might not crop up any obstacle to the act of charity, it was so arranged by the god of charity that no fruits was found near by and she had to go to a distant place. Just then the prince laid hold of the three children by their hands, and addressed them thus :— "Oh 'Legs-dPal' (Shri-Bhadra), 'Legs-lDen' (Shri-Mān) and 'Legs-mDses' (Bhadra), you three brothers and sister, to-day the last day of our long association has come. All kindred souls come together and eventually separate. That is the characteristic feature of all composite things (hDus-Byas—Saṁskāra). Do not think that I have no compassion on you. Oh, three brothers and sister, even with all the different six classes of creatures (hGro-wa-rigs-drug), the usual custom is to separate after union. Do not pine for your father, and give no thought to your mother. For the fulfilment of the desire of these three Brahmins, you three are to go. May there be a time when the parents and the three children will again meet together." With these words he gave away the three children to the three Brahmins. Then the three children being of young age, and especially not finding their mother (naturally held back for a little while), as their hearts were bound by a strong bond of attachment (to their mother). Even while they were proceeding on their journey, they were lingering on the way hoping to have a chance of seeing their mother. The Brahmins tied up the three children to a tree, pulled off their clothes from the lower

parts of their persons, cut off a twig from a thorny tree and began to whip them. The prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" shed bitter tears and being unable to see the spectacle with his own eyes covered his head with a piece of cloth. The three children wept, crying out all along 'Oh mother,' 'Oh mother!' Then said "Legs-lDen" (Shri-Mān): "Allow us three brothers and sister to bid the last farewell to our father. "You may do that," said the Brahmin. Then "Legs-lDen" saluted his father and said, "O our royal father! with a view to fulfilling a great vow, you promised to make a gift of us—we three brothers and sister—to the Brahmin. In obedience to your order, my father, I now beg leave of you to go, though it grieves me not to see my mother, who brought up me with kindness and who is dear to my heart. May both father and mother live in peace!" Having spoken these words he began to weep. Then "Legs-dPal" (Shri-Bhadra) said, "Father has made a solemn vow to give whatever one may desire. If I say 'I won't go,' that would be running counter to father's order. My heart bleeds not to see my mother at the time of parting. Will it be possible to meet both father and mother again in this life? If perchance this meeting do not take place in this life, I pray that we may meet together on our way to Bodhi (perfection, purity and enlightenment)." Having said so he began to weep. Then "Legs-mDses-Ma" (Bhadra-Shri) too said, "I am 'Legs-mDses-Ma,' a veritable peahen in the loveliness of my person. Now that dire call has come that I must leave the shelter of my parents, the veritable tree of miracles to me, and must go away to serve, as a menial, the low-born Brahmin, I will go in deference to my father's order. But it breaks my heart not to see my mother, who brought me up with kindness and nourished me with the milk of her breasts. If we do not meet again in this life, I pray that we meet again in the next life." Having spoken thus, she wept.

Then the father too shed tears and said:—"O ye three children, you are the heart of my hearts. Great indeed is the agony

in being divorced from one's heart, but it is charity that is the way to religion. So take heart and cease to weep. Oh Blamas (Gurus), oh deities, oh Merciful God! may no accident or sudden illness befall the three children all the time that they will proceed on their journey! I pray too, with the sincere words welling up from the bottom of my heart, that the parents and the three children may meet again very soon!"

Then the three children were led away by the Brahmins. Then after they had gone a long distance, the three children were separated from one another and taken by the Brahmins to their respective places.

After a while, "Men-Dhey-bZang-Mo" (the mother), having plucked some fruits returned to the place. And not finding the three children and the Brahmins beside the prince, " Dri-med-Kun-lDen," "bZang-mo" thought:—"Of a certainty my three children have been given away to the Brahmins" and so persuaded, she threw herself on the ground and gave vent to crying aloud these words of lamentations: "Oh my three children, comparable to the sun in their resplendent beauty, have all on a sudden been enveloped by a mass of clouds in the form of the Brahmins. And the flowers of (my life) have been blasted by the hail-storm of sorrow. Oh Blamas (Gurus), Yidams (tutelary deities), and the celestial angels, puissant and strong, and O mighty deities of the locality! such an abrupt transition has taken place in a moment! Oh what a calamity has been visited upon me! Oh, the time has come when the mother had to part alive from her children, the very quintessence of her heart, and that without death intervening! Will not the wicked Brahmins answer for this misery of ourselves, the mother and the children?" Having spoken these words, weighed down with grief she fell into a swoon.

The prince was moved (in his heart) with pity for " bZang-mo," and sprinkled (drops of) water on her face and brought her back to her senses. The prince then addressed her thus: "Oh ' bZang-mo,' pray direct your attention to me. Do you not

remember the solemn covenant that we two made in the past? On the eve of our departure from the land of Betia to the 'bDud-ri' (Devil-Hill), did I not tell you that I delight in making gifts in charity and did I not again apprise you (of my resolution) that if a supplicant turned up, I would (freely) give away my children, my wife, and even my own life? And you too assured me that you would not put any obstacle in the way of my charities. And you promised to befriend and help me in the pursuit of the twofold objects of life (*i.e.*, wealth and religicn), and in my striving after Bodhi (perfect spiritual enlightenment)[1] or of the two orders (Hinayāna and Mahāyāna). And though you have made this solemn promise, you are now giving way to such (unworthy) lamentations, at the very time when your co-operation is due. And during all the time I shall have to plod on through many a hill and valley. I have no other friend than yourself to share with me my sorrows. And when you have been giving vent to lamentations, my heart writhes in pain." Having spoken these words, the prince himself shed tears in profusion. Thereupon "Mendhey-bZang-mo" wiped away the prince's tears with her own hands and said, "Oh great prince, pray listen to me. I wept out of my loving heart, because I

[1] "Tsogs-gNyis-Byang-Chub" is an expression difficult to understand, "Byang-Chub" of course means Bodhi, the Supreme spiritual enlightenment, freed from all defilements, the highest consummation for a saint to aspire after. But "Tsogs-gNyis" is rather vague. It means "two classes, two orders, etc." and in Rai S. C. Das's Tibetan Dictionary stands for Sanskrit "Dvi-Varga, *i.e.*, wealth and religion, Dharma and Artha" and in this sense it appears to bear family likeness to the Brahminical ideal "Tri-Varga" Dharma, Artha and Kāma or 'Chatur-Varga' with 'Moksha' (Salvation), added to the number, Kāma, not being congenial to a Buddhist mind, being naturally omitted. The two expressions in this case means the two different ideals of life, to be pursued in the worldly plane and the spiritual plane, respectively. Or it might be contended it stands for the two different ideals of Bodhi-Sattvahood, according to the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools. But the latter interpretation seems to be doubtful as Prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" has all along been represented in the present work to stand for a Mahāyānik ideal and it is the Mahāyānik doctrines and practices that have been extolled in this book. So it is not very likely that the hero of this Mahāyānik work should be represented as showing any leaning or partiality for Hinayānik ideals, which are avowed to belong to a lower order of teachers and which have not the sanctity of the Mahāyānik faith.

could not meet my children at the time of their departure. I did not weep with intent to cause perturbation in your heart. By this time the Brahmins are (probably) taking away my children separately, from each other's company—the three children who are lovely in the extreme and my second soul, as it were. My three children, dear as my very life, do, every now and then, flash before my vision. And when I ponder over them, my heart aches. Well, I will never go against the prince's order and in order that your desires may be fulfilled, I will ever carry out your bidding. Now, pray advance onward and I shall follow in your wake." She having spoken these words, they proceeded on and arrived in a dense forest, where there was an abundance of fruits. Then "bZang-mo" plucked some fruits and offered them to the prince. The prince ate a bit off a fruit and was highly delighted with its delicious flavour. Then taking another fruit in his hand he said as follows :—" This fruit of Indra, possessed of the hundred[1] (many) perfect tastes and in sweetness of taste and richness of flavour far surpassing the rest of the eatables I would have fain given to the three children, if they had happened to be here. They being absent, my heart is pricked with sorrow." So saying, the prince cast a look at " bZang-mo " who was shedding tears all the time and spoke as follows :—"Ah ! whatsoever comes out of an idle mouth and whatever crops up in a thoughtless, vacant mind, if carefully analysed and examined, do they not prove to be calculated to deceive one's own self? Oh 'bZang-mo,' you yourself partake of this Indra fruit ! " Having said so they proceeded further on. Now their further progress was barred by a big river, very broad and deep and difficult to cross. The prince then made this prayer :—" Oh merciful Blamas (Gurus), tutelary deities, angels of Heaven, and Oh mighty deities of the locality, although I stand as a witness

[1] It ought to be " brGya " instead of " brGyed " as in the text. *Vide* foot-note, p. 24.

of the twofold truth,[1] I pray thee to show me a way through this river. In case I fail to cross the river and am left stranded here, the sin of violating my father's words will come upon my devoted head. So I pray thee to show me a way through the river."

Thereupon, the current of the river got divided, the upper part receding backward in a whirlpool, and the lower part being thus detached, a road appeared between and they passed through it. And then the idea occurred to the prince that if the river remained thus divided in its current, it would entail untold injury to numerous living creatures, and so he addressed the river in the following terms, "Oh river, flow on as before" and the river flowed as before. Thereafter they advanced again and reached a place called the "rLung-lDen-gYo-Wai-Phrang" (the wind-shaken-narrow-path). There Brahmā and Indra, the two lords of gods, metamorphosed themselves into two Brahmins and presented themselves before the Prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen," in order to test whether the charities of the prince were in conformity with conventional truth (or transcendental ideals), and they addressed the prince as follows :—"Oh great prince, pray give us a gift." The prince thought in the recesses of his heart : "As this is a place beyond the access of human beings, certainly these are not men. Is it not a miracle?" And then said, "Whence are you come ? I have nothing to give you in charity. What shall I give ?" The two Brahmins replied, "We are from the place 'Pha-ka' (the yonder). We are suffering terrible hardships for lack of a relation or attendant. So pray give us your consort." The prince deliberated thus :— "If I do not give away my 'bZang-mo' this time, all the previous charities would be reduced to nullity. But oh! to give away in charity one who has borne my company all this long distance out of her deep love for me, my heart is smitten with pity to

[1] "Two-fold truth" means in Tibetan "Dhon-Dham-Pai-Chos" and "rKun-rDsob Kyi-Chos," *i.e.*, Conventional truth (Samvriti-Satya) and Transcendental truth (Paramārtha-Satya).

think of the (unspeakable) misery which she will have to bear in her separation from me." But finding no other alternative than to give her away, he thus addressed 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo' :— " Oh my 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo,' beloved of my soul, thou hast attained this human form as a result of accumulated merits in the past lives. In the interest of the religion, one must be prepared even to part with one's body and life. It is the essence of the religion to give away one's body and life. By reason of a long period of association, my heart cannot dare part with you. But, my 'bZang-mo,' if you do not go this time, my vow of charity will be left unfinished and you too, on your part, will not attain bliss in your next life. So you do go with the Brahmins to fulfil their desires. Without making any difference between me and the Brahmins, you should serve them agreeably to their desires. Keep all these in the centre of thy heart, oh my love." With these words he made her over to the Brahmins. Thereupon 'bZang-mo' said, " If you give me away to the Brahmins, O prince, there will be none left to attend to your needs. So, do not give me away, please." The prince replied, " O 'bZang-mo,' do not be speaking in that strain. But listen to me. I have made a vow to give in charity whatever one may desire (of me). So do not put any obstacle in the way of my charity. And (if you wish) to help me on in my striving after twofold Bodhi (perfect enlightenment), you should bestow no thought upon me, but go to serve the Brahmins. And that will satisfy all my requirements." The prince having said so, "bZang-mo" shed a flood of tears and at length promised to go. Then the prince addressed the Brahmins :—" O ye two Brahmins, pray listen to me. This 'bZang-mo' has been a loyal wife to me for generations together. As for her lineage and caste she is a king's daughter. She is an expert in manufacturing savoury dishes and sweet drinks (noted for) their agreeable taste and flavour. And of this loveable and beautiful 'Men-Dhey-bZang-Mo' I stand in no need, you two Brahmins please take

her." At this, the Brahmins took her away and having gone about a hundred steps, again came back and returned her to the prince and said :—"Oh! it was all joke, O great lord of men. It is a great wonder how you have made the 'Dal-hByor '[1] privileges real. O noble lord of men, you are, in reality, a giver of gifts (in Paramārtha-Satya). All salutations to you, O great prince, a hero in making gifts, who even can dare to give away his own life." And when they praised the prince, the prince said :— "I cannot take back what I have given once. Now you two take her away." The two Brahmins, at this, assumed their (real) divine form and said, "Oh great prince, we (simply) tested whether you had any attachment or not. Neither of us two have any need of your consort." And so saying, the kings of gods looked up to the sky with an intent gaze and immediately all the gods came down and assembled there under their control and transformed themselves into a large body of herdsmen. Now these herdsmen entertained the prince and the princess with a super excellent repast. Then the kings of gods, the Maker of a hundred gifts (Sata-Kratu), made an obeisance and spoke thus :—"Oh thou blessed and holy lord of gods and men (alike), having waived all attachments to this life, thou hast accomplished the greatest purpose of the future life. Thou hast achieved the highest ideal of life to be reached by all classes of beings, and thou art the highest real Buddha(hDsam-Gling-hGren-Med-Par-mNyes-Gyur-Chig),[2] thou standest as a wonderful beacon-light in this perishable world. My salutations to thee, O holy person![3] May

[1] The eight 'Dal-was' and the ten 'hByor-pas' are called a 'Dal-hByor' life, *i.e.*, a life full of blessings, a perfect life.

[2] "hDsam-Gling-hGren-Zla-Med-Par-mNyes-Gyur-Chig," "May the world be rid of all rivalry and be blessed with peace! " This is another reading found in one of the manuscripts consulted in the preparation of this translation. The sense seems to be this: "May the example and holy influence purge the world of its rivalry and animosity which are, alas! too much in evidence and make a hell of it, and may eternal peace reign supreme here in place of feud and jealousy."

[3] The reading in the text is "Khed-gNyis." I suspected it to be a scribe's mistake for "Nyid." If the former reading is correct then the sense is: "The world is exhorted to follow the example of the prince and (probably) the princess—they being regarded as the

the whole world emulate the example of you two, O peerless ones! " Indra having spoken thus, they proceeded on and when from a distance the prince and the princess looked back, the horde of cowherds vanished out of sight like a rainbow. And they proceeded on and on and met with a boy all white (in complexion), who was holding a string of crystal beads in his hand. The white boy said :—"O great prince, at a distance of 'dPag-Tsed' (yojana) from this place, God Brahmā is waiting to adore you," and so saying he disappeared. And again they proceeded onward and came to the bank of a great river, which was changed into a big city by Brahmā by dint of his supernatural powers and here the prince and princess were served (by Brahmā) for seven days together.

Then when they made preparations for the resumption of their journey, Brahmā, who disguised himself as a young boy, made the following observation :—" O great prince, pray dwell in this place. As regards houses, riches and whatever else may be required I shall supply them all. And domestic servants, male and female, too, will be supplied by me. And from this place you are released from the sentence (of exile) pronounced by your father. That evil region, called the ' bDud-ri-Ha-shang ' (Devil-Hill of Hashang), is the haunt of evil spirits and monsters, herds of wild beasts, fierce and unrelenting, thirsting for (human blood) who will attack you from all directions. In all conscience, the place is forbidding with its dark, bleak hills and its unfathomed dangers and fears." Thereupon the prince said :— " By virtue of merits accumulated in my past lives I had inexhaustible wealth in my possession. But I believe in the white (pure) works of piety. And now if I allow myself to be tied down to the wealth and enjoyments, supplied by (you), my worshipper (Brahmā)—wealth which only generates innumerable desires, from this act of wavering on my part, my work of piety

ideal man and woman. But (Nyid) is an emphatic particle and makes the sentence easier to be understood.

will not thrive but on the contrary will be eclipsed and (eventually) altogether collapse. And particularly if I do not carry out (kill) the clear orders of my father to the fullest extent, my solemn vow will be reduced to nullity. So I must start at once." And when he set out, the (enchanted) city vanished like moistures on a grass. And the prince at once exclaimed (in delight), "Oh! I have received the fruits of the prayers I had offered to God, in this very life." And advancing onward, he arrived at a place which inspired uncanny feelings with its dense forests, impenetrable even by sun's rays. And in such a place not knowing where they were going, they came across an ascetic, who had matted hair rolled up on the crown of his head, and who had a yellow moustache, and yellow eyebrows and had a Damaru (a small drum) and a trumpet[1] (made of bone) in his hands. The yogin (rNal-hByor-pa—an ascetic) accosted him thus:—"You appear to be a highly meritorious person, What country are you hailing from? What country are you going to? What is your name? At a distance of five 'dPag-Tsed' (yojanas) from this place, there is a wild hill named 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang' (Devil-Hill of Hashang), in the rugged ravines of which the smallest particles of stones cast shadows as big as pillars. And the hill is overspread with flowers of poison-trees and lakes of poison the waters of which (continually) boil over into surging waves; and in that hill there are venomous serpents, which exhale mists (of poison) which overspread the sky like cloud, [where also many evil and dreadful spirits gather for days and nights killing innumerable lives. And there are lions][2] tigers, snow-leopards, bears and sundry other wild, ferocious beasts who impetuously pounce upon and devour a man, as soon as they get scent of one. Even the very sight of it will make

[1] 'Kang-Ling, lit., is a trumpet made of human thigh-bone. And hence also trumpets made of various metals generally copper, etc.

[2] The sentence in the brackets is wanting in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's publication, so I have consulted another manuscript which I have and I translated the passage accordingly.

one (feel) miserable and indeed the place is sure to strike unspeakable terror (even in the stoutest heart). Besides, in the very middle of the way there are terrors (of) inconceivable (variety and magnitude)."

Thereupon, Prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" spoke as follows :—" I am from the country of Betia and I am bound for the 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang' (Devil-Hill)." The ascetic said, " I already heard the report that Prince 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' had given away all his wealth and kingdom in charity. Now I consider myself to be a man of virtue that I see the very person with my own eyes. Now at the distance of a 'dPag-Tsed' (yojana), there is a river called 'Nadhara.'[1] Now if you proceed keeping the river to the right, you will light upon a foot-track, usually trodden by wild beasts. Please follow that track. I shall presently make a prayer for re-union in our next life." Having spoken these words, he vanished out of sight.

Then, having proceeded further on, he arrived in a dense forest, which completely intercepted the sun, and wherein all the evil spirits and monsters made themselves closely visible, even though it was day-time. All the wild beasts (of the place) rushed forward to his side with loud thundering roars. And he heard the thunderings of the waves of the burning lake of poison. And by this time " bZang-mo" (Bhadra), assailed with fear, exclaimed as follows :—"Ah me! what might this region be! Ghosts and monsters make themselves visible even during day-time. All sorts of miracles and supernatural incidents are exhibited in this place! It appears to be the metropolis of demons or the king of death. Oh! tigers, lions and sundry other (varieties of) wild beasts and man-like monsters are showing their teeth and jumping at us. The boiling waves of the poison-lake make my heart ache. And there is no deliverance from this place now. It seems the last day of our life has come (Srog-gi-

[1] In the other text I find the river is called "Naghara."

hDus-byes).[1] Oh 'Blamas' (Gurus), O gods and O Supreme Deities, do save the lives of us two, man and wife."

At these words, the prince, having realised that "bZang-mo" was struck with fear, spoke as follows:—"Oh spirits and apparitions, gods, Nāgas (serpents), Yakṣas, Kinnaras and mighty lord of earth, and legion of tigers, lions, wild boars, and jackals, and all classes of monsters, and wild beasts, I pray you all to pay your attention (for a short while) and hear me for a short time. For my part I have altogether a vacant mind and have no fear (solicitude) on the score of my body and life. Nevertheless, I pray that you should give up all evil and harmful thoughts (that stir up your minds), and inspired with love, cease to work mischief and live in the heart of perfect peace, so that 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo' may feel happy in her soul."

The prince's words had the desired effect. The evil spirits and monsters at once settled down to a calm attitude. The hosts of ferocious animals not only refrained from doing harm but like pet, domesticated dogs began to guard their persons with their tails rolled up on their back. The flocks of birds also warbled out in their sweet, melodious notes a message of welcome to them.

Then having proceeded further on, they reached the great "bDud-ri" (Devil-Hill). The hill was, in the upper part, all white with snow, the lower part was red as an earthen-pot and in the middle was coursing down a small rivulet. As soon as the prince and the princess planted their feet upon the hill, leaves at once sprouted in the dry, withered trees; water gushed forth from dried-up springs. And at that time, all the denizens of the hill, the gods, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Rākṣasas, Piśācas, demons, Vetālas, eagles, Kinnaras, and all others of their ilk;

1 "Srog-gi-hDus-byes" would literally mean the vital compound (Jīva-Saṁskāra). In the language of Buddhist philosophy the phenomena are Saṁskāras, *i.e.*, composite substances. And so life is also regarded as an aggregate of several vital elements, into which it is dissolved at the time of death.

tigers, lions, snow leopards, leopards, wolves, jackals, and all the hosts of wild beasts of prey (gCen-gZen) ; horses, elephants, buffaloes, bulls, and all other species of wild animals (Ri-Dags); cranes, geese, ducks, pea-cocks, parrots, Kala-pingas and all other species of the feathered creatures (hDab-Bya) and various other classes of living creatures (unnamed and enumerable) which dwelt in the hill, all gathered together and welcomed the prince and the princess with greetings. Thereafter, both the prince and the princess cast a look about the hill, and saw the hill stood facing south. And lo, the sun rose early in the morning and set late in the evening and there was no distracting noise in the interval. Rivulets with clear pellucid waters, began to course along. Birds of various kinds began to sing sweet melodious songs ; Indra trees (Indrai-sDong-Po) were seen standing there. The ground became clear of shrubs and thickets and flowers grew in abundance. In that lovely and captivating place, blessed with an abundance of heaven's light, they built a hut of leaves of trees one for each of them. And the prince himself with a view to fulfil his heart's desire, betook himself to the precepts " Theg-Chen" (Mahāyāṇa) and passed his days in meditation. " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" sat at a distance and at times picked up fruits and offered them to the prince. Then after a long time had passed, "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" remembering awfully her three children went to the prince and said :—"O young 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' you have purified yourself with all sorts of knowledge and have no bragging thereof ; now please listen to me. Twelve years have passed in this great place. It took us six months to come here and it will take six months to go back. Now the prescribed time having passed, shall we not go back to our country ? And will it not be better if we go back slowly ?" The prince replied :—"Do not agitate your mind but listen for a short moment to what I say. In this solitary dense forest I have relinquished altogether disagreeable and agitating clamours according to Buddha's prophecy. I will not go away but will stay in this pleasant and happy place where

knowledge can be acquired and religious devotion and pious acts prosper." So saying he sat in meditation. Then some days having passed "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" went out in search of fruits into another dense forest. In that forest she met with a parrot who could speak out of his prescience. "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" spoke as follows to the parrot:—"O exceedingly beautiful and great bird possessing powers of speech, I am highly pleased with thee who art much liked by my heart. The colour of your neck is fair, that of the beak is red. It is a great wonder that such a bird flies in the sky. You are the only flying ornament of firmament. You are sentient and wise in mind though you possess the body of a bird. You are full of youth and you can sing in a warbling manner. You have beautiful colour and a nice-speaking tongue. Be pleased to show me a source of sweet fruits." The parrot replied:—"You are a prince's consort possessing knowledge of religion. You are young and full-grown. Your colour is fair and charming to look at and a fragrance flows out of you. Your cheeks are wet with scented perspiration which issued out of all sorts of heart-pleasing desires. Your face looks like the full moon. I am now plunged into an ocean of ecstasy (as it were) and my heart has gone to you. I am pleased to see thee, O goddess with a smiling lustre. I will show you whatever fruits you desire." The parrot having led her to (a place full of) many delicious fruits, ascended the top of Indra's tree and pouring down a good number of fruits gave them to "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo." Then "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" got highly pleased with the fruits and said thus:—"O miraculous bird of the sky! I am satisfied with the fruits (given by) your pious self. Be well disposed and exceedingly loving towards your fellow beings. Remain in peace with the multitude of your kindred friends. I too, on my part, shall pray that we may meet again very soon." Then the parrot descending from the top of the tree accompanied her up to eighty steps and said:—"You are pious, beautiful, high-born and good-mannered. O goddess!

your body is handsomely framed! O you sweetly smiling lotus! Depart in peace. We shall not meet in this life. I offer prayers that we may meet in the next." So saying the parrot too returned. Then " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" too returned. On her way of returning, she came across a great river which was flowing with a distinct sound. This thought arose in the mind of "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo": "Alas! this river flows towards the Bye-ma-gSer-Gling." Thinking that she must send a piece of news to her children she thus addressed the river: "O river of existence, thou art transparent and ever-flowing. Your water flows with a distinct melodious murmur. Your nectarlike water quenches the thirst and hunger of the indigent. You flow with a sweet sound from the white snow. O river, in course of your flowing, please deliver (the following) message to my three children. 'Your father and mother are not dead but breathe happily; you three too come of a good family and of high lineage and noble caste. Have you any accidental attack of sudden illness or not? You are overwhelmed with the pang of separation from your parents and on account of that you have been long overtaken by the sickness of sorrow. Though you are not able to bear the ceaseless sorrows of heart any longer, this time you have no means of avoiding them. A long time has elapsed since the separation of the parents with their children. Admitted that you are suffering from the sorrows of heart for a long time, well, now you will meet with one another very soon.'" Such message did she send through the river.

Then after having passed some days the three children came near the river to fetch some fuel. The message of the mother was delivered by the river. Remembering the parents very much they sat there for a while weeping. The Brahmin's wife said:—" As regards fuel there is not a bit of it (with them). What have you been doing so long?" So saying she beat them very much. In a state of sorrow the princess " Legs-mDses-Ma" went up to the top of a high mountain to fetch fuel. High above a 'Kala-pinga' bird appeared twittering a sweet note.

The damsel "Legs-mDses-Ma" remembered her parents awfully and getting sorrow-stricken spoke thus to the bird:—"Your chirping, 'Kala-pinga' is very sweet to the ear. Your sweet inaudible notes produce sorrow in my heart in hearing. Happy are you who fly in the air. Please wait a bit for this sorrow-bitten girl. O 'Kala-pinga!' are you bound for the 'bDud-ri' (Devil-Hill)? O great bird, on your way towards there, please give a message to the parents of this girl. 'Does my great royal father enjoy good health? Is this girl's mother in sound health? Have you not got tired of the "Theg-Chen-Chos" (Mahāyāna-Religion)? Are you not suffering from the damages done by four elements[1] to your body? There are no damages done by the elements here. No accidents of sudden illness prevail here. But pressed with sorrow in heart one cannot pass days and nights (easily). Those who serve in others, houses as servants can have no news of happiness. As regards trouble the Brahmin does not give any. I have received a message about your meeting us very soon. Hearing such news we three children rejoice very much. If you have got magical powers for meeting sooner, be merciful towards us your three children." Such message did she send through the bird. Then the next morning a short while after, the sun rose. The "Kala-pinga" bird came down upon a tree near the father and mother (in bDud-ri) and submitted the whole news sent by the princess (Legs-mDses-Ma). The parents got very much grieved at heart and shed copious tears. All those tears being accumulated turned into a big ocean! In that ocean sprang out a sandal tree! The tree had a golden root; the trunk was made of conch! The leaves were made of turquoises! On that tree, one thousand flowers bloomed out! Upon each of those flowers an individual Buddha sat down! Those Buddhas were really the manifestation of

[1] According to the Tibetans there are four elements (hByung-wa):—1. Fire (Me), 2. Water (Chu), 3. Wind (Rlung), 4. Earth (Sa).

noble-mighty " hPhags-Pa-Cen-Ras-gZigs " Avalokiteś-vara! The parents made obeisance to them and praised thus :—

" O thou thousand Chakravartin kings
with thousand hands!
And you thousand Buddhas of Bhadra Kalpa
with thousand eyes!
You teach whatever is suitable to
creatures whatsoever!
Our obeisance to the Reverence
Avalokiteśvara!"

Saying this they bowed to Him and offered praises. Then " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo " owing to the remembrance of her (beloved) children said to the Prince ' Dri-med-Kun-lDen ' with a bow :— " O wise prince! please listen to me. Twelve years have elapsed in this great place (bDud-ri), it has taken us six months to come here and will take six months to go back. Then altogether it makes thirteen years which is more by one year than your father ordered. Now let us go to our own country, please. The three (beloved) children, who were as if my heart incarnated, my mother, my native country and others—these appear in my mind. I long to see the hosts of my beloved relatives. Please think my case affectionately and depart hence." Saying this she wept. Then perceiving that " bZang-mo " was really sorry and taking pity upon her the prince said :—" O 'bZang-mo,' do not shed tears, we two shall go now." Saying this the prince rose from his seat and prepared himself to go. The gods, the Nāgas, the Yakṣas, the hosts of wild animals and birds, all those who resided in that hill, gathered together and uttering every one's own language prayed to the father-prince (Dri-med-Kun-lDen) and mother-princess (bZang-mo) to stay there. They shed tears and uttered lamentations. Then the prince felt pity in his mind for the devils and the animals and, making the mystic sign (Mudra-Pyag-rGya) of blessing with his right hand, said

the following :—" Devils, creatures, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, and living animals, for a long time you have behaved as parents towards us. You did well by showing love towards us in the manner of kindreds. To-day is the last day of our long association. Separation after assemblage is the way of all the creatures of the three worlds. Coming together (assembling) is never ever-lasting and is like death (attended with separation). You too have faith in religion. Let not yourselves do harm to others. Be in peace, my noble friends. We won't meet in this life, but I pray may we meet in the next one." Saying this, the father-prince and mother-princess started on their way, and all those animals became sorry. Then escorting them for a long distance they returned in a sorrowful mood.

Then the prince and the princess resumed their journey and arrived at a place called " Hod-hDus-Rlung-Gi-dKyil-hKhor." There came up a blind Brahmin conducted by a woman. The Brahmin (the woman) saluted the prince and (the blind man) with folded hands prayed as follows :—" Oh great prince, be pleased to give your eyes to me." The prince was highly pleased and sat down on the very spot with crossed legs (sKyil-krung). There he thought (within himself), ' Now I must reach the end of my vow of charity ' and spoke out as follows :—" O 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo' of surpassing beauty and ever dear to my heart, O ever pleasing goddess of Fortune, please vouchsafe your ear to me. I will reach the end of my vow of charity. Pray be not worried concerning me in the least. In our cycle of births, without a beginning and without an end, whatever body we may be born to, that very body will be ultimately left in its nature, essenceless and fruitless. Now in my present birth, I shall fulfil the very essence of life's mission."

With these words he caught hold of a highly sharp knife with his right hand and having lifted up the eye-lid with his left hand, plunged the knife in and a flood of blood flowed out ! At this, "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" burst forth, in her grief, with words of loud lamentation. Unable to stand the sight any longer, she caught

hold of the prince's arm and wept. The prince said :—"O 'bZang-mo,' pray do not behave like that. If you do like that I shall think you do not love me, but have put me far off from your heart. (If you are insistent, I say) we, two parents, shall not meet each other for ' Kalpas.' So, please do not throw any obstacle in my path of charity and keep your peace." With these words he plunged the knife again and plucked out his two eyes. " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo," unable to bear the sight, fainted and dropped down with her face upon the ground. The prince having taken the eyes in the hollow of his hand, (got them) fitted in the sockets of the Brahmin's eyes and addressed him thus :—"O you good Brahmin, listen to me with good attention. I give you these two eyes, possessed of delightful vision. May you look upon the three worlds to your heart's content. Though I have none, I possess the eye of wisdom. May it become the brilliant lamp, competent to remove the darkness of nescience ! May my vow of charity (hereby) reach its furthest limit ! " So saying he resumed his sitting posture, shining in his glory.

The Brahmin had a clear vision of everything to whichever side he turned his eyes and saluting the prince he spoke as follows :—"O thou scion of a noble line of kings, O thou of extra-ordinary benevolence, merciful enough to satisfy by the gift the desires of supplicants, thou art the best light to remove the darkness of this world. O king, thou hast no rival in the three worlds. In general thy kindness to all living creatures is unbounded. But particularly thou dost take delight in removing the miseries and sorrows of ill-fated Brahmins. All salutations and praise to the kind-hearted prince." Having spoken these words he returned to the country of Betia.

Then all the people of the city of Betia having gathered together asked the Brahmin, " How is it that you have got your eyes ? " The Brahmin replied, " My eyes are those of the Prince ' Dri-med-Kun-lDen (Sarva-Vimala). I have begged this from him." At this, the king, the father, and the queen mother,

"dGe-lDen-bZang-mo" with all their subjects and the entire staff of officers were highly surprised, and despatched the minister "bZla-wa-bZang-po" with full suits in order to receive and conduct the prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen."

There (on the other side) "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" having, after a pretty long time, recovered her senses, got up and saw the prince sitting erect, while his entire face and the whole of the front part were flooded with blood. "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" began to weep again and spoke these words : " Ah me ! twelve years have been passed in that dreadful hill. I thought after returning to our land I would meet with a host of my dear relatives and this thought enkindled in my heart a joy beyond measure. Alas ! all these anxious yearnings of my soul are dashed to the ground. Alas ! alas ! such a turn of fortune ! " She gave way to these loud lamentations and shed a river of tears. The prince said :—" 'bZang-mo' do not give way to grief, but assiduously apply all your energies to religion. From all the past births and rebirths, without beginning and without end, and up to this present birth, everything that was done before has become absolute nullity. Now, for this endeavour to seize the essence of the 'Supreme Truth,' 'bZang-mo,' you should not give way in lamentations. Now I will go, be my guide and lead me."

"bZang-mo" catching hold of the prince's hand led him on and came to a place, "hDu-Wa-Hari" by name. There they sat down under the shade of a tree. There (in that place) came up minister " Zla-wa-bZang-po" (Chandra-Bhadra) and having bowed to the prince with folded hands addressed him thus :— " O son of the king, 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen,' I, the minister, desire to make a request of you. Your august father, the king, together with his hosts of ministers, and the whole assemblage of queens headed by your noble mother 'dGe-lDen-bZang-mo,' the sixty vassal kings, the three thousand ministers, and ninety-two thousand subjects and attendants, have declared their faith in you and sent me with their respects to conduct you (to the royal palace)."

Thereupon, the prince having placed his hand on the head of " Zla-wa-bZang-po," said :—"O 'Zla-wa-bZang-po,' you have come with your party? I am not yet dead, but manage to keep alive. After all, it is only a joke, believe me, O 'Zla-wa-bZang-po.' Well, is the kingdom of Betia free from all troubles ? Are our parents, officers and subjects, all enjoying good health ? Now as regards your prayer, I shall see that it is fulfilled before we start." Thereupon, the minister "Zla-wa-bZang-po" and "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" caught hold of the prince's right and left arms respectively and led him on the journey. Then, after a while, the prince stopped on the way to rest his limbs and lo! he was seized with a fainting fit and was on the verge of death, as a result of excessive bleeding from his plucked-out eyes. Thereupon, the prince said :—"Now, the farthest limit of my charity has been reached. O 'Men-Dhey-bZong-mo' my beloved goddess of fortune, and dear 'Zla-wa-bZang-po,' you two turn your steps towards Betia and there in your own land conduct your own lives according to the tenets of religion. I am, on the other hand, going to another world." With these words, he assumed a cross-legged sitting posture[1] on the very spot and made this prayer : " May those great practisers of religion, the persons who carry out all the articles of the Buddha's teaching and who lead the destitute and helpless to Supreme Bliss, may their hearts' desires be satisfied." He spoke these words and was on the point of death. Now all the Buddhas of the ten directions collected together from the horizon and blessed the prince " Dri-med-Kun-lDen" by placing their hands on the crown of his head. Thereupon the prince made the following prayer :—"O 'bDe-gCegs' (Sugatas) of the ten quarters with your

[1] 'sKyil-Krung'—a cross-legged sitting posture : it is same as 'rDo-rJe-sKyil-Krung' (Vajra-Āsana). These ' sKyil-Krung ' or 'āsanas' are a very important part of the practice of yoga and insistence is made on the mastery of these sitting postures as a necessary preparation for the exercise of meditation with equal urgency by the Buddhists and Brahmins. The practices of yoga, apart from its philosophy, were popular with all schools of thought in ancient India for their efficacy in inducing concentration of the mind, their one common object being the achievement of salvation by meditative processes.

sons, pray listen to me. In order to remove the sorrow of 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo' and to fulfil the desires of 'Zla-wa-bZang-po,' may I have two eyes of brightier vision than (I had) before!" Scarcely the words were spoken, than he was blessed with a pair of eyes of highest wisdom (Yeces-Kyi-sPyen),[1] of brighter and clearer vision than before.

Then proceeding further on they arrived at a place called "bPal-bSam-Gling" (Shrī-Chita-Dvīpa). There came "Cing-Khri-bTsen-Po," the king of the savage country called "Bye-ma-Cing-Drung," and invited the father-prince and the mother-princess with their whole retinue. He gratified them with his homage, and having made an offer of inconceivable (varieties of) jewels and gems headed by the former gem "dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms" (Cin-tā-maṇi), made the following submission: "O prince, you were obliged to go and stay for this long period at the 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang' and O prince, I have to answer for your enforced visit to, and this prolonged sojourn at, 'bDud-ri-Ha-shang.' Now I beg your forgiveness and to make penance for my sins, I make you an offer of my whole kingdom with all its subjects. Pray emancipate me from worldly existence." With these words of prayer he saluted the prince and circumambulated[2] around him for a many time. The prince also promised as much. Thus was brought under subjugation one of the enemies of the father-king. Thereafter they had resumed their journey and, on the way, met the three Brahmins of the "Bye-Ma-gSer Gling," leading the three children who accosted him as follows:— "These three children had been of great service to us. Now, out of gratitude for your favour, O prince, we have come to return them (to you)." With these words they delivered them to the parents. "Now, I cannot accept what I have given once," replied

[1] 'Yeces-Kyi-sPyen,' the eyes of wisdom (Prajñā-Cakṣus), as opposed to the eyes of flesh, which can cognise only things of the material world, whereas the eyes of 'Ye-ces,' or Prajñā, can see all things, the material or spiritual alike.

[2] 'sKor-wa'—Circumambulation, *i.e.*, going round a holy shrine or person, always keeping to the right, is a very old practice popular with the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. It is resorted to only when objects of special veneration are honoured.

the prince. "So you three take them away and give them work that they are able to do." Thereupon, "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" bowed to the prince and submitted as follows :—" O great prince, please listen to me. These three children born of my own flesh, were given up as slaves to these Brahmins for these twelve years. We have found (by chance) the flowers of the 'Udoom'[1] on the public road. And these three children, rare as they are, had in spite of their noble birth, and royal descent to boot, to suffer measureless privations in serving people of low origin, and I cannot bear all this. And tears involuntarily gushed forth out of her eyes. Can we not ransom them with money? What is best to do ?" Saying these words, she began to shed tears. Thereupon the following thought arose in the prince's mind :—" What 'bZang-mo' has said is true indeed." So taking pity on her he said :—" Most beautiful 'Men-Dhey-bZang-mo,' darling of my heart, goddess of fortune (Ānanda-Lakṣmī), please listen to me. O 'bZang-mo' do not shed tears. I will ransom the three children with riches." Saying this he addressed the three Brahmins thus :—" O ye three Brahmins, please come to my own country. I will ransom the three children with riches." Saying this they again resumed their journey. Then from the boundaries of his native place up to the distance of twelve " dPag-Tsed " (yojanas) petty kings together with their ministers and attendants came to welcome him with offerings. Even the father-king " Sa-sKyong-Drags-pa-dPal " (Bhupati-kīrti) came to welcome them with incense (in hand) at the distance of seven " dPag-Tsed " (yojanas), and beginning from the " Padma-Can-Gyi-Pho Brang " (Kamala Palace) up to the boundary of the " sNang-Wa-Hod-Kyi-Grong-Khyer " (City of Lights), with umbrellas, banners

1 Tradition has it that the 'Udoom-Bara' (Fig) tree has no flowers and so flowers of 'Udoom-bara' have come to signify anything rare and unobtainable. There was very little hope of meeting the three children again in the course of the present life, because they were given away once for all and to persons absolutely unknown to them. Hence the simile of the fig-tree flowers.

of victory, flags, fans, cāmaras, pavilions representing imaginary mansions of gods formed in the sky, cymbals (big and small), offerings of worship, singers and dancers, guitars, ringing-bells (Ting-cags), tinkling-bells (gYer-Kha), flutes, big-trumpets (dung-Chen), etc. The combined noise of such things ascended the city's lanes and welcomed them. Then the father-prince and the mother-princess together with their children and the three Brahmins also arrived at the city called "sNang-Wa-Hod." The feudatory kings of the city of "sNang-Wa-Hod" who were called "Kun-gZigs" (All-seeing) bowed many a time before the prince and the princess together with their attendants and offering inconceivable specially-made offerings addressed the prince thus:—"You are like the sun who once set and after setting rose up again shining. You prince (and princess), are the father and mother of the sentient beings. You went to the very extremity of the 'bDud-ri' (Devil-Hill) and now you have come back. You have shown great mercy to all the living creatures. We together with our subjects are now freed from mourning. O 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' having heard that a man like you had given away his own life, and eyes as gifts to others (and if this was a fact), the great father-king has no reason to pine for the gifts of the gem (Norbu) to the enemy. Holy are you who are known by the name of Prince 'Dri-med' (Vimala). You are the lord of men and 'Śākya-Śāsana-meru-ketu' (one who is like the banner upon the hill of the doctrines of Buddha). May you defend your kingdom, this pleasant holy 'dGah-Wai-bSam-Gling-dPal' (Śrī-Māna-Dvīpa), just as you protected your religion. I too offer this prayer with one strong faith that this be the omen that after departing from this world may I be born again and again in after life as a servant of yours." So did he pray. Then they proceeded further and were welcomed by all the subjects and petty kings who greeted them with obeisance. The king "gSer-Cen," and others offered a gold coin each, "Rab-bZang and Dhon-lDen" (Sutam and Ārthik ?) and others presented a

silver coin each. Other people too, whether countrymen in the neighbourhood or subjects, gave plenty of gold, silver, chrysolite (Baidurya), sun-crystal (Me-Cel—or Sk. Surya-kānta-maṇi), and gold-dust, etc. Then he met his father-king at the palace called " dPal-brTsegs-Metok." Thereupon the prince " Dri-med-Kun-lDen " with his consort and children made obeisance to the king-father and holding his father's hand shed copious tears. The father said :—" As this is a good stroke of fortune (brTen-hBrel), that we father and son met together, there is no use shedding tears." When he said this the prince and " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo " wiped away their tears and as they all sat upon the cushions, the mother " Men-Dhey-bZang-mo " told the three children :—" O my three children, my hearts of heart, sit down on my lap." At this the three children did not desire to go. Thereupon the father-prince inquired of the reason thereof. ' Legs-lDen' (Shri-Mān) addressed his father in this way :—" If the fruits grown upon the ' dPag-bSam-Cing ' (Kalpa-tree), fall into the ocean the serpent will devour them up. Though we are the scions of a great noble family we had to go to a barbarous hill as a punishment. Having advanced a long way in a place where no human beings could be found, we were given away by father ' Dri-med-Kun-lDen ' to three Brahmins. We three ' Legs-dPal,' 'Legs-mDses-Ma' and myself, though born from their own body, were given away as gifts. We served each of the Brahmins as servants, ate unclean foods and wore dirty clothes ; pressed with defilement, we three got confounded. You great mother, will be contaminated with this filth. Therefore we won't go to the mother's lap." So he said. The three children were washed in a precious vessel of incensed water (sPos-Chu). They changed their old clothes for new ones. As the ransom for " Legs-lDen " 500 gold coins, and for " Legs-dPal " 500 silver coins and for " Legs-mDses-Ma " 300 elephants were given to the Brahmins, with rations for their journey, they went to their own country. Then the prince " Dri-med-Kun-lDen " addressed his father thus :—

"O king, father and lord of mankind in one, be pleased to give your attention to me. I have undergone the full course of punishment according to the words of command that your Majesty, the virtuous ruler of the earth, was pleased to deliver. On our way having covered a long distance, we had to suffer all the torments of heat. In that dreadful hill and in the midst of ferocious animals, malignant demons and legions of Yakṣas (sNod-sByin), we had to maintain a co[illegible] of life, dreadful (in all conscience). We put on garments of leaves and for cushions relied on turfs of grass. For food we had fruits and to allay our thirst we drank cold water. We made birds and beasts our friends in sorrow. The hardships and privations that I had to suffer for the sake of mundane wealth (are over). I pray such miseries may not be visited upon any one of the sentient beings. Would that my vow of charity (sByin-pai-Pharol) may reach its finality by my generous acts beginning with the gifts of father's gem (Norbu), and ending with the gift of my organ of sight. May all sentient beings, without an exception, attain bliss by virtue of the (spiritual) power, born of the cumulative merits of their acts. In particular, I pray for his Majesty, my august father, the ruler of the earth, and all his subjects and attendants without exception, that their whole karma (roots of actions) with all its pollution and all their propensities (Bag-Chags), may entirely be extinguished and that we may all meet in the next life. Foremost of all, I pray that the fruits of all these charities of mine may conduce to my attainment of the Bliss of Supreme Enlightenment (Buddha-hood.)" When he said this the father-king said thus to his son:—"What you have said is true. The offence you committed was not given due consideration, but for your punishment it was decided that you should be exiled. You have faced numerous miseries and suffered them too. The penalty was imposed upon you by myself in consultation with the host of ministers. Young in age you gave away your children and your eyes too when you arrived at that most distant place. I have heard that you gave away in charities horses and chariots, wealth

and elephants and many other things. When such things occurred I no more repented that the gem ' dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms ' (Cin-tā-maṇi) was given away in charity to the enemy. I have now heard of your achievements, which I firmly believed and the pleasure that arose in my mind knew no bounds. Now think over how to excuse me for all the penalties inflicted upon yourself repeatedly in former times. It is in later times that I confessed all the guilts perpetrated by me. I make over to you all my treasuries as big as ocean and you give away in charity whatever pleases you." Saying thus the father led both his son and "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" (the prince's consort) by their hands and having put the three children in a carriage, reached the palace-gate. Then near the palace-gate the mother "dGe-lDen-bZang-mo" at the head of hosts of queens came to welcome them with incense in hands. Indra the lord of gods at the head of all the gods made showers of flowers, and resounded the air with music. Then when the prince-father and the princess-mother together with their children had made obeisance to mother "dGe-lDen-bZang-mo," and had shed copious tears, the mother addressed the son thus :—"O my son 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen,' listen to me. Alas! by the power of the wind of fortune (rLung-Cugs) many sufferings happened to you, ' Dri-med-Kun-lDen,' together with your wife. I am pleased now that you are relieved of them. The mother's sorrows of which she has no definite recollections (innumerable as they are) subside from to-day. I have mourned over my son for twelve years. I plucked out my hairs, shed from my eyes a continual flow of tears, beat my breast and have been tortured by the fire of sorrows. To-day are extinguished all the fires by the holy water. O my son 'Dri-med ' now my sorrows are gone."

When all went to the palace and took their seats on the cushions, the father-king addressed his son thus :—"O you young 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen !' accept without any vacillation my crown ornamented with seven gems. Especially accept this very gem 'dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi), which was given by

yourself to the enemy as a gift but which, by the power of good luck, has come back again to our hands. Now my most beloved young man! accept with a clear conscience 'the good variegated letter' (Legs-lDen-Khra-yi-Yige), the ornaments of crown headed by the gem 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms,' treasures of gold, silver, pearls and silk, herds of horses, elephants and buffaloes, children, petty kings with their ministers, subjects, and armies without any exception whatsoever." So saying he decorated the prince with (the crown and other) precious ornaments. The nobility and the attendants welcomed him on the throne as king. The golden wheel with one thousand spokes, in accompaniment of the ministers, petty kings and subjects, were given to his hand. Then father-king said :—"Let you my beloved 'Dri-med' use my wealth as you please. I hand over my petty kings, with their subjects to your hands." After this the prince "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" being installed in place of his royal father gave feasts to people up to the forty-five "dPag-Tsed" (yojanas). Then the king "Dri-med-Kun-lDen" ruled over his kingdom. And by virtue of the merits and power of the king, the laws were confirmed and the kingdom flourished more than before. Then Indra the king of gods and Vṛhaspati (rGya-sByin-dang-dPal-hBar), addressed the king thus :—"You gave the gem 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' to a foreigner. You were exiled by your father to the great bDud-ri' (Devil-Hill). You have encountered all the severe sufferings. Bearing all these upon your own shoulders you gave away, for the good of sentient beings, your own children. Secondly, at the last moment you gave away your organs of sight and you got better and clearer eyes than those of others. Having reached your own country you reign over the kingdom. There is no use reigning over vast kingdoms. Now pray that by making charities to all the living creatures you may become the matchless Bodhi-Sattva (Bla-Na-Med-Pai-Byang-Chub,[1]) you are the

[1] The name 'Bla-Na-Med-Pai-Byang-Chub,' *i.e.*, Amitāva Bodhi-Sattva is given to those who having attained to the position of a Bodhi-Sattva of the Mahāyāna School (Theg-Chen) are neither subject to decay nor dependent upon anything.

'Mahā-Deva' (dWang-Pyug) of all the cardinal points of the world, and inspire pride in the minds of others! You are the excellent light of this world! There is scarcely any rivals more powerful than you. O 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' after death you will be born as the son (to the king) 'Pūrna-kīrti' (Yongs-Grags) in the hill of 'Potala' and you will be named as 'bZang-Po-rGyes-Pa.' By that all the creatures will be helped. Just as the wheel of religion is turning (always) so will these (spiritually elevated)• men turn out 'mNgon-Par-rDsogs-Par-Sangs-rGyes' (Ādi-Sam-Buddha), fully enlightened.

And the father-king, the mighty 'Sa-sKyong-Drags-Pa' (Bhupati-kīrti) too, after having passed one hundred million 'Kalpas' will be born at one of the heavens occupied by the 'Hod-Chen' (Asuras) in the Himalayas and will reign over the kingdom where religions will flourish. As regards 'dGe-lDen-bZang-mo' (Kalyāṇa-Bhadra), she will be born after her death in the heaven of Tārā-Devī (gYu-Loi-Cing-Khams) as a mistress helping all beings. As regards the one called 'Men-Dhey-bZang-Mo' she will be born in next life in Ceylon (Singhala), as the king 'bDe-Byed' (Saṇkar). These two superexcellent princes will be born in the next life in Southern India, the eldest as king 'Dhon-lDen' (Svarnak?), and the youngest as prince 'sPrin-hDsin' (Megha-Dhara). As regards the princess 'Legs-mDses-ma' (Surūpā) she will be born in the country of 'Padma-Sambhava,'[1] as prince, to the king 'bDe-Byed' (Saṇkar). The minister 'Zla-Wa-bZang-Po' (Chandra-Bhadra) will be born as a son to 'Kun-dGah-bZang-Po' (Ānanda-Bhadra)[2] by the good fruits of religious practices practised by the 'Dri-med-Kun-lDen' who has gone to the end of all religious merits. The father, the

1 Padma-Sambhava (U-rGyen-Pad-Ma or Pad-Ma-Byung-gNas or Guru-Rin-Po-Che or Guru), the master of magic who went to Tibet from India in 860 A. D., the great inventor of Tantric rituals and eclectic mythology of later Buddhism.

'Kun-dGah-bZang-Po' (Ananda-Bhadra); perhaps the word is 'Kuntu-Bzang-Po' Sāmanta-Bhadra), the first Dhyāni-Bodhi-Sattva.

mother, the children, the ministers, and the subjects have all been led into happiness. Buddha born in the world in a royal family, a great wonderful prince you are! May you flourish always in this world! May your glory continually spread out on the face of the earth! In this wonderful lotus-garden of your (earthly career), may the tree yielding fruits of piety attain in all-round and harmonious perfection, nurtured by the atmosphere of (high) wisdom, born of ritual practice and culture of highest knowledge! May it bloom all over with flowers, rich in their variety of hues and may the anthers, with their natural gracefulness, spread out far and wide! I, too, pray you to accept me for your attendant after my passing away from this life of a god. I further pray that I may have your society for eternity without a separation like unto the never-failing shadow of your body." No sooner had he spoken these words, than he vanished away.

Then "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo" asked the king, "What is the reason that such an exceedingly lovely figure has thus vanished from our sight?" The prince replied, "Do not worry yourself, but give me your ear for a while. Look at the 'Haloi-Metok' (hollyhock flower) in the garden. It breaks off when it only bends its neck and the flower, 'Halo' (hollyhock) remains no more. The dew-drop of autumn resting on the blade of grass, disappears the moment the yellow-robed (sun) rises up in the horizon. The rainbow in the sky with all its lovely hues disappears and stays not even for a while. And we, two parents, together with our children, shall also disappear after this short union like the 'Ahsha-dhata' flowers. What (again) is called reality is only for a while and passes into nothingness. Although we gathered together here (on the earth) for the present, it is (really) heart-rending that we shall have to separate after a short while. Now, on this men's world a hundred and thirty years have passed away. Even during this so-journ, I have made (continual) prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings. If the two youthful sons of ours can be persuaded to

accept my kingdom and the jewel 'dGos-hDod-dPung-hJoms' (Cin-tā-maṇi) with an ungrudging mind, I shall devote myself to the cultivation of others' welfare."

Having spoken those words, he made over all his dominions to his two sons. Then having accepted five hundred damsels headed by the daughter of the king "dGah-Wai-dPal" (Shri-Nanda), incarnation of the "mKha-hGro-mTso-rGyal " (Angel Ocean-Queen) as queen-consorts for the two princes, he celebrated feasts and festivities on a magnificent scale over an area of twelve "dPag-Tsed" (yojanas). Thereafter King " Dri-med-Kun-lDen" (Sarva-Vimala) together with queen " Men-dhey-bZang-mo" (Mendhey-Bhadra), minister " Zla-Wa-bZang-Po " (Chandra-Bhadra), son of the minister " Grogs-Byed " (Mitra-Kara) and minister "brGyen-hDsin " (Bhusanana-Dhara) repaired to the great hill in Siṁhala for meditation.

The kingdom was governed by the two princes as well as in the days of yore. Then after a period of five years having elapsed, the two parents, king " Dri-med-Kun-lDen " and queen "Men-Dhey-bZang-mo," were transformed into a red and yellow flower respectively and were wafted away by the winds towards India in the South. At this the ministers were highly mortified and returned to their native land. They addressed the princes thus :—" The king and the queen, your revered parents, both transformed into a red and a yellow flower respectively, were wafted away southward in the direction of India and attained the Buddha-hood." The two princes were highly delighted at the report and with a view to fulfil the wishes of their parents, had one hundred thousand copies made of Kanjoor, the Buddha's commandment (the Tri-Pitakas, Tantras, etc.), Ten-Joor and Ser-Chos, and in the end dedicated them all (in their names).

Finished is the birth-story of "Dri-med-Kun-lDen " (Sarva-Vimala), king of religion.

Blessings to all creatures !

CONCEPTS OF DISEASE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE OF INDIA

By

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Introduction.

When recently engaged in field work amongst the Santals and Mal-Paharias, the valuable recent monographs of Rev. P. O. Bodding on Santal Diseases[1] naturally occupied a good deal of my attention. While checking up the data, I felt that there was very little to add so far as the facts observed are concerned. But when the monograph of Dr. F. E. Clements[2] came into my hand and the excellent writing of Dr. Rivers[3] was reconsulted a need of new orientation was felt. In the work of Dr. Clements one felt that the data about India were not comprehensive enough, so also certain omissions were detected even in the masterly array of facts by Dr. Rivers so far as India was concerned. This emboldened me to collect all data heretofore recorded about the primitive tribes of India, and re-investigate in the field the primitive concepts of disease, medicine and cure in India in the light of the new classification of Clements and re-examining the theory of unicentric distribution of certain idea relating thereto as is suggested by Rivers.

The study of the infancy of medicine in India is of very great importance. It is well known that Hindu medicine has influenced, —through Arab translation specially of Charak and Susrut, the early history of medicine of mediaeval Europe.[4] Though I do not yet hope to arrive at the links in the primitive disease and medicine concepts of the forest tribes of India and highly complex body of Sanskritic texts

[1] Rev. P.O. Bodding, Studies in Santal Disease and Connected Folklore, Parts 1 and 2 (J.A.S.B. Publication, 1925 and 1927).

[2] Dr. Clements, Primitive Concepts of Disease (California, 1932).

[3] Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, Medicine, Magic and Religion (London, 1924).

[4] A. F. Rudolf Hoernle in his Studies in the Medicine of Ancient India, Oxford, 1907, places ' the origin of surgery as a science in the East of India and of Ophthalmic surgery in the Eastern province of Bihar ' (p. 8)—contiguous to the Santal area. How far Ophthalmic surgery rose from the attempts at primitive exorcism from the effects of disease-object-intrusion and the evil eye in the Santal area should be considered.

on medicine, it is obvious that both had re-acted on each other. In an ultimate estimation of the early inter-relation of the cultures of Egypt and India, specially in prehistoric times, the concepts of disease in the primitive area of India form an interesting link. Thus as a sort of first spade-work the following is offered.

Dr. Clements' Classification.

Dr. Clements has mentioned rightly that the concepts of disease of the primitive people will fall roughly into three broad categories:

1. Supernatural Agency,
2. Human Agency,
3. Natural Causes.

Supernatural Agency, *i.e.*, sickness is regarded as due to the action of supernatural factors.

Human Agency, *i.e.*, disease is considered directly due to the malific action of some human being, embracing sorcery in all its phases.

Natural Causes which include the modern medical theory and all injuries obviously inflicted by material agency.

The above three broad divisions of Dr. Clements are divided into the following sub-divisions:

Natural Causes ...	1.	Disease-object-intrusion.
Supernatural Agency ...	1.	Soul-loss
	2.	Spirit-intrusion
	3.	Spirit of Sickness
	4.	Breach of Taboo
Human Agency ...	1.	Evil Eye
	2.	Evil Touch
	3.	Evil Mouth
	4.	Sorcery

Rivers' Classification.

Rivers has distinguished mainly three causes of the ascription of disease:

(1) Those in which some morbific object or substance is projected into the body of the victim.

(2) Those in which something is abstracted from the body.

(3) Those in which the sorcerer acts on some part of the body of a person or on some object which has been connected with the body of a person in the belief that thereby he can act on the person as a whole.

The Theories of Clements and Rivers.

According to Clements, Disease-object-intrusion is probably the earliest of theories and had once continuous distribution and probably originated in the Paleolithic time in the Old World. Soul-loss is traced by him to a single Old World origin possibly in Siberia. Spirit-intrusion originated considerable later than the aforesaid two, and had been diffused before the full Neolithic of Western Asia. The breach of Taboo concept has probably originated independently in middle America, in the Arctic region and in Southern Asia. Rivers has rightly called attention to the difference in distribution in the two sets of belief in the production of disease: (1) by the abstraction of soul or part of the soul or one of several souls (the same as the soul-loss of Clements) and (2) by possession (here evidently Rivers includes the disease-object-intrusion and the spirit-intrusion of Clements). Rivers finds the first limited to Indonesia, Papuo-Melanesia and America. The second is distributed according to him only in India and Africa.

Rivers connects the concepts of disease with the methods of treatment distributed in several areas and points out the improbability of independent origin. Having come under the influence of Elliot Smith and Perry, he naturally leaves the case with a suggestion of modification of primitive cultures due to contact with archaic civilization of Egypt which carried these concepts of disease and cure along with such culture traits as megaliths, mummification, sun cult, etc.

Concept of Disease-object-intrusion in India.

Dr. Clements puts under this all theories which ascribe disease to the presence in the body of some malific tangible foreign substances such as bits of bones, hair, a pebble, splinter of wood or even small animals such as lizard, worm and insect.

Dr. Rivers describes the class of cases in which the cause of disease is supposed to be some object or substance which has been

projected into the body of the victim, falling into two groups, according as the morbific objects have found their way into the body of the victim by direct human agency or by the action of some non-human agent.

The *Tejo* theory of disease of the Santal falls in line with this. Dr. Clements has left out, in his study of distribution, these Austric-speaking proto-Australoid or pre-Dravidian tribes of Chota-Nagpur.

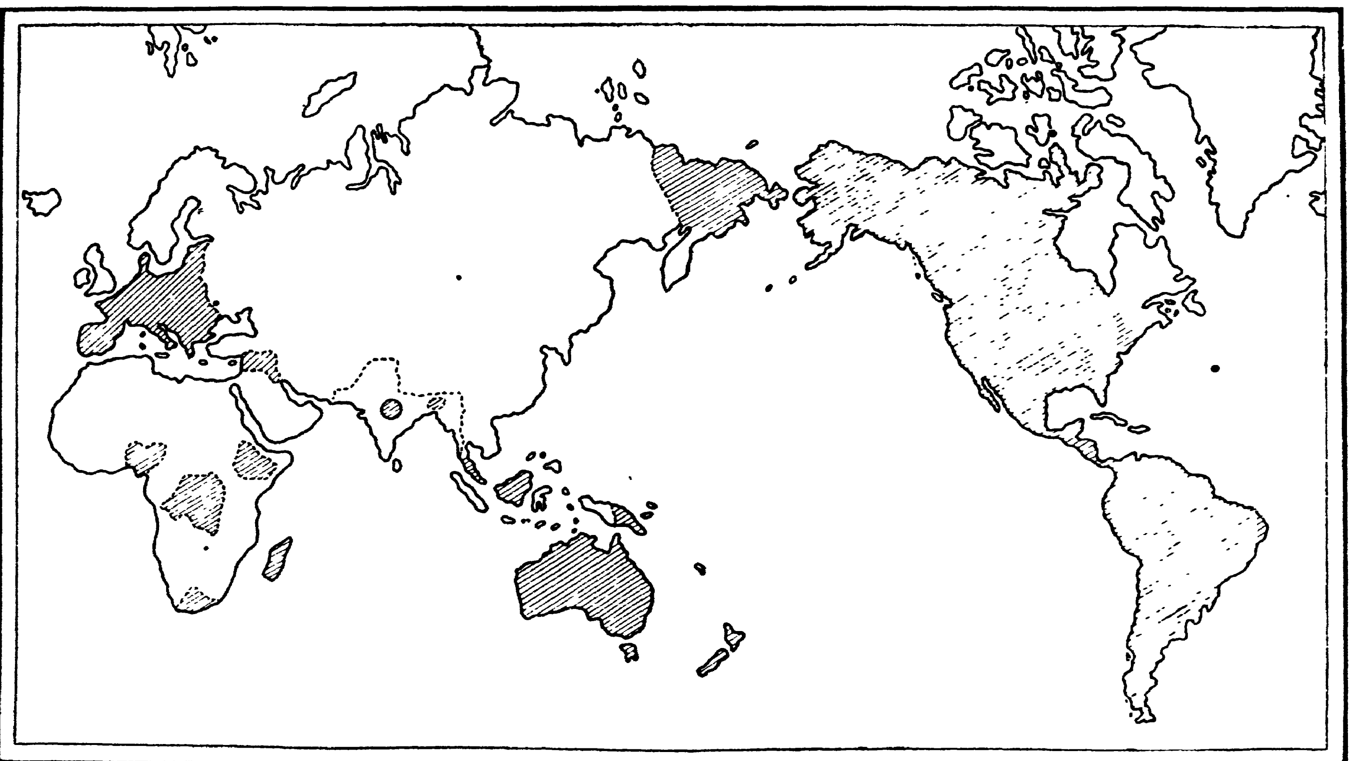
The Santal has a theory of disease which in his scientific view-point is as natural a cause as infection caused by bacteria. But we can look upon it as an agency which is natural and ,yet super-natural and sometimes also diffused with human agency. According to them diseases would be caused by a '*Tejo*' which may be large or very microscopic. These '*Tejos*' are located in different parts of the body. Rev. Bodding gives a detailed description [1] of this theory where he describes how there is a belief of '*Tejo*' causing leprosy or hydrophobia, etc., how these '*Tejos*' enter the body through food, etc. The '*Tejo*' germs are often believed to be collected by witches for spreading disease among people. In the first place, naturally, the her-balist tries his drugs but this failing, the witch-doctor is called.

The Santal has a belief that evil men by dint of their magical power intrude dirts such as stone or wood or pebbles or lumps of hair in the body which causes unbearable pain. The *Ojha* sucks out from the body these things and they believe that by doing so their pain is cured.

The Mal-Paharias, the Saurias and other Paharias of the Raj-mahal Hills of the Santal Parganas in Behar also believe that one of the causes of disease is the intrusion of bits of stone or wood, etc., by sorcerer and which is cured by sucking out these things from the body.

The Oraon sorcerer sometimes carries with him a rag bundle containing what are known as *Nasans* (destructive or harmful agencies). The '*Nasan*' bundle contains human hair, nail-parings, claws, fragments of bone and legs of chickens and other birds and animals as also small quantities of rice, grains, mustard seeds and certain other grains. A witch or sorcerer desiring to harm a person manages to mix with

[1] Rev. P. O. Bodding, Studies in Santal Disease and Connected Folklore, Part 1, J.A.S.B. Publication, 1925, pp. 6-8.



Distribution of disease object intrusion after Dr. Clements. Dr. Clements omits the Chota Nagpur and Santal Parganas areas, where also present the above idea among the Primitive peoples. Those areas are marked by ◍ in the Map.

Ratson (medicine-man) has to be called in, who can see and extract any foreign body which may be the cause of the trouble.

Among the Tangkhuls of the Manipur Naga, the deity *Kamyou* is approached by sacrifice when men are ill. Yet they have *maibas*, true magicians, who kill a fowl and then prick a small stone out of the side of the patient, who then gets well. At the time of performance, both men are nearly naked. The sick man lies on the ground in high fever. The *maiba* kills the fowl and declares that the omens are favourable. He then kneels on the man, pummels him, apparently bites him, and produces from a small bleeding wound in the side a tiny stone about the size of a pea, which the *maiba* tells that it is the '*lai*' which has caused the sickness. At Jessami (in Mao village), too, they have *maibas*, who produce a stone from the patient as the cause of his illness.

Dr. Clements have shown this idea (disease-object-intrusion) to be almost universal in the New World and extended up to Siberia. Another area is shown in south-eastern Asia and the Santal under consideration would show a continuous distribution of this from Chota-Nagpur to the Pacific area. Other centres in Europe, Western Asia and Africa are recorded as being capable of tentative connections with the area of the Santal and south-eastern Asia. The '*Tejo*' concepts of the Santal is identical with the disease-object-intrusion concepts in other areas. The idea of dental diseases due to worms in the teeth is not only known in the Santal area but is common in Bengal and perhaps other parts of India, and is treated in India generally by wandering gypsies called 'Bedias' who might have been a distributing agency of this idea in other parts of the Old World. The distribution of the disease-object-intrusion concepts in south-eastern Asia and perhaps in western Asia also may be centered in India if we take the whole as a continuous area of which the information has not been collected from some parts of Persia, etc. The old Hindu theory of fever *(jvara)* is that it is brought about by an intruding disease demon (*Jvarasur*) which finds its way into the body of the afflicted through a disease-object. Could it be suggested that the disease-object-intrusion idea was taken up by the Hindus from an earlier surviving primitive concept and incorporated into the systematised medical treatment through it diffused to western Asia in one

hand and Indonesia in the other ? More knowledge of Chinese and Indian mutual influence on the medical systems of both countries might bridge the gulf between the areas of south-eastern Asia and Ainu-Sibero-American zone.

Concept of Disease due to Soul-loss.

Soul-loss implies all theories attributing sickness to loss of the soul (the term soul as used here refers to the primitive conception of a shadow or tenuous double and to the metaphysical creation of sophisticated theologians). This may be abstracted by ghosts, evil spirits or sorcerers or detained by an evilspirit when it leaves the body during sleep, on its nocturnal ramblings. In each case the owner of the soul soon becomes sick and dies unless it is shortly returned. Dr. Rivers denies the soul-loss idea of disease to Asia but a very elaborate distribution is found in northern India and a few in Chota-Nagpur and Santal-Parganas within Behar. I am now citing in which form this idea is present among the primitive tribes of northern India and Behar.

Among the Ao Nagas illness is most commonly believed to the capture of the patient's soul by *Tsungrem* (spirits). These fiends lie in wait for men's souls, pounce on them, and devour them after holding them to ransom for a time. It is the soul which always accompanies a man that is held prisoner in this way. Its owner at once falls ill, and if his soul is not restored to him he will die. A medicine-man is called in without delay. Having taken the omens by gazing into a leaf-cup of '*madhu*' or in whatever way he favours, he announces that the sick man's soul has been caught by *Tsungrem* at such and such a spot.

The Lhota Naga usually regards himself as having two distinct souls called respectively '*omon*' and '*mongyi.*' The *omon,* which is visible in the form of a man's shadow and shows its good sense by disappearing into him when the sky is cloudy and rain threatens, leaves the man sometimes before death in cases of serious illness. It may just wander about, in which case it can often be induced by proper ceremonies to return, or it may go straight along the Road of the Dead to the next world, in which case the man dies.

[1] Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, ' Medicine, Magic and Religion,' p. 79.

As an example of this belief the following story, told to Mr. J. P. Mills of the Naga Hills by a Rephyim man, may be related. The man said: "The Road of the Dead in our village runs past the Champo in which I used to sleep. One night when I was lying awake I heard some one go stumbling past towards Wokha Hill, groaning as he went. Then I heard him say, 'Oh, oh, I cannot walk' and recognised the voice of my brother-in-law, who was very ill. I was frightened and shouted and woke all in the Champo. My brother-in-law died next day, for his soul (*omon*) had already gone ahead." The *mongyi* leaves a man at the moment of death and goes straight to the World of the Dead, where it joins the *omon* which has already gone on ahead except in the case of very sudden death.

Illness amongst the Lhota Nagas is generally ascribed to the wandering of the patient's soul (*omon*), who accordingly calls in a medicine-man (*ratsen*) to cause a ceremony to be performed to call back his soul.

The Lushai Kukis of the Assam Hills also have a belief that soul-loss is one of the causes of sickness. Sometimes a Lushai returning from a shooting expedition feels ill. He then realises that he has lost one of his *Thlaran* or souls (the Lushai has a belief that a man possesses more than one soul) in the jungle; so he calls in the *Puithian* and requests him to call back the wanderer. The *Puithian* (medicine-man) then hangs the head of a hoe on to the shaft of a spear and goes down to the water-spring chanting a charm and calling on the spirit to return. As he goes on, the iron hoe-head jingles against the iron butt of the spear and the spirit hears the noise and listens. The *Puithian* returns from the spiring to the house still chanting and calling and the spirit follows him, but should the *Puithian* laugh or look back, the spirit becomes afraid and flies back to the jungle.

Among the Garos of the Garo Hill in Assam belief of illness due to soul-loss is also present. They think that in some cases the spirit has the power of leaving the body before death and of entering into another body. Certain ailments are attributed to the fact that the sufferer's spirit cannot make up its mind where to stay and is therefore restless and uneasy. When this is the case the person whose soul is afflicted becomes thin and emaciated, and if he dies, it is believed that the spirit has entered the body of a child which is yet unborn;

should the afflicted person recover some woman will bear a dead child. Being startled is thought to be the result of the spirit having left the body through sudden fear. It usually returns at once, but if any ill effects are felt from the shock a sacrifice becomes necessary to calm the troubled spirit. (This is soul-loss due to fright.)

A sick man of the Sema Naga goes to the fields to call the soul whose desertion of the body may be the cause of his illness. The sick man takes a chicken or a dog, kills it, and sets aside a share for his *'aghongu'* (soul). He calls loudly on his own name. He then returns very slowly home. His soul follows, but may easily be frightened away again. The frightened soul which had been following its body fled again and the unfortunate body, deprived of its soul, died a few days later.

Among the Lakhers of Assam when a man has fallen ill on returning from hunting or from a journey, the Lakhers think that the *Leurahripa* (a spirit of mountains, woods or streams) has detained the sick man's soul. It is thought that if a chicken is sacrificed then the sick man is cured as the *Leurahripa* will seize the chicken and release the imprisoned soul.

The Karens of Burma have a belief that the *'Wi'* (medicine-man) has the power of reviving the dead or dying but he must first catch the spirit of some person alive and divert it to the dead one. The person thus robbed sinks into death, but he is revived by a similar process and so the *'Wi'* may continue the operation *ad infinitum.*[1]

Liver as Seat of Soul.

This refers to the belief that the soul is the resident in the liver, which cannibal spirits regard as particularly succulent, spiritual palates evidently relishing the ethereal taste of the soul substance.[2]

The above belief can be found amongst the primitive tribes of Chota-Nagpur and Santal Parganas, which is as follows:

The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur have a belief that there are among them some powerful sorcerers or witches who by some appropriate *mantras* extract the liver of an intended victim without the latter

[1] In the folk belief of Bengal there is still the idea of '*Nisir Dāk*' call at night when for the curing of a dying man some healthy person's name is called, and if he answers his soul is entrapped in a cocoanut-shell.

[2] Forrest E. Clements' Primitive Concepts of Disease, p. 234.

perceiving it. The liver thus extracted is carefully preserved and guarded by the sorcerer for twenty-four hours following the extraction. If within this period the victim calls in the aid of another magician who through counter-spells may succeed in preventing ants from touching the extracted liver, the liver will at the end of the twenty-four hours be restored to its owner and he will get well again. If, however, ants succeed in nibbling at the liver within the period, the patient will pine away and finally at the end of the twenty-four hours the sorcerer will eat up the remnant of the liver whereupon the patient will die.

The Santals of the Santal Parganas have a strong belief in witchery. When a Santal girl has learnt everything of witchery from a elderly witch, she is made to take her *Sid-atang* (degree) by taking out a man's liver and cooking it with rice in a new pot ; then she and the young girl who is initiated by her eat the feast together. The man whose liver is extracted, expires.

I am citing a story, which I collected at Tilabad village within Godda sub-division from Parganait Ram Murmu, in support of the above belief of the Santals.

In Tilabad village, a man was attacked with fever and gradually became lean and thin. No *Raranic* (herbal doctor) and *Ojha* (medicine-man) could cure him. At last a niece of that man revealed the secret plot and told that her uncle's *Gongo Ayo* (aunt elder) did this harm. One day she called me in a jungle and ordered me to take out the liver of her uncle and I was compelled to do that and the pet *bonga* (spirit) of that *Gongo Ayo* lived on a palm tree near by. She at once climbed up the tree but could not find the *bonga* there. She then went to that jungle in quest of that *bonga* with some relatives. In the jungle the girl became invisible and after a few minutes she appeared and told that her uncle would die, and the man expired within a few days.

Disease due to Spirit-intrusion.

Spirit-intrusion implies all those etiologies which include that disease is due to the presence in the body of evil spirits, ghosts or demons.

It seems at the very first sight that there is no difference between the terms Spirit-intrusion and Possession and the term 'possession' is

most suitable to designate this concept. However, as generally used, this has too variable a meaning to be satisfactory in a classification. Thus in this connection, to cite the following quotation from Franz Boas will be of some value:

" Belief in obsession is a most characteristic form of belief in the Old World. On the other hand, it seems quite foreign to the beliefs of American tribes. Ideas of personal contact between man and supernatural beings are quite frequent, but obsession and with it the various forms of exorcism do not seem to occur. The spirits may attack man but they do not enter his body." [1]

Although Boas uses the term obsession in the above quotation it obviously has the same meaning as 'possession.' Dr. Clements says that "Boas' statement is not accurate since the belief is found in many parts of South America, in the eastern United States and even in Greenland, although it is not so prominent in the New World as the Old." [2]

Supernatural beings, by entering into the body do not always cause harm.[3] The persons in whose bodies they enter may not fall sick but are only possessed. Their functions become erratic, they may fall into trances, and their speech at such times is accepted as the utterance of the supernatural being. These men, as considered by the primitive people, are in direct touch with the supernatural being and they are respected as holy men or women and are often consulted as oracles by the populace.

Possession is restricted to cases in which the supernatural being speaks through his host. The criterion of true possession is the belief that the voice of the possessed person is really that of the supernatural intruder.

Spirit-intrusion includes all cases of disease ascribed to the presence in the body of supernatural being.

The Thado Kuki of Assam view practically identifies bacilli with evil spirits. The disease is the immediate result of the presence of an evil spirit *in situ*, and European medicines are believed to be efficacious

1 Franz Boas, America and the Old World, p. 27.

2 Forrest E. Clements' Primitive Concepts of Disease, p. 189.

3 All Revelations of the higher religions are thus in a sense extensions of the idea of spirit-possession. As St. John says, " I was in the Spirit on the day of Lord and heard behind me a great voice as of a trumpet, etc. (Rev. I.10).

because Europeans have discovered the peculiar nature and composition and the various smells disliked by the particular spirits respectively causing the disease cured by such medicine, so when that is taken or applied, the spirit responsible for the illness departs, unable to bear the smell of the drug, and the patient gets well.

Among the Sema Naga there is an idea of the spirit intruding. The disease caused by this spirit is cured by egg-throwing and by throwing out of the doorway of the sick man's house a burning brand.

Among the Lakhers the idea of disease due to spirit-intrusion is as follows:

A person is said to be *Ahmaw* (a sort of vampire soul) when his spirit has the power of entering into another person's body and causing severe stomach-ache; it approximates to the evil eye. The belief is that a person who is *Ahmaw*, isalways of an envious nature and when he sees any one else possessed of clothes or other property that he would like himself, he becomes very envious and sends his spirit into the body of the person whose property he envies, and at once causes violent stomach-ache, which on occasions is believed to have resulted in death. A strong and athletic man when attacked with *Ahmaw*, gets weak, unable to go out hunting and finds it a labour to climb hills that would have been nothing to him before, his hair begins to fall out and other signs of premature old age descend upon him. An *Ahmaw*, in fact, is a sort of vampire which, on seeing any one prosperous and happy, tries to get hold of the property of the person he envies entering his body and making him ill, in the hope that the sick man will then make offerings to him.

The area in Assam in which the Kacharis live is very malarious. Generally one or more inhabitants in a village lie prostrate with malarial fever of a virulent type; and on asking what was wrong the reply has very commonly been '*modai hamdang*,' *i.e.*, an evil spirit has got hold (of me). And this reply may be looked upon as typical and characteristic, and as accurately expressing their idea of spirit-intrusion.

The idea of spirit-intrusion among the Garos is of a very peculiar nature. They regard with great dread anybody who remains for a long time in a comatose state, for they believe that *Nawang* (spirit) has taken possession of the sick person and is devouring him. So great is

their fear on these occasions that sometimes a person in such a state is taken to the funeral pyre and is burnt before he is quite dead. Mr. Playfair has described in his book of one case, in which a man who had been unconscious for a long time was on the point of being cremated while yet alive, and was only saved by providential interference of a missionary.

The Hos of Chota-Nagpur believe that women dying in child-birth transform themselves into malignant spirits and delay in delivery as also other complications in pregnancy are attributed to these spirits. Such spirits are believed to sit on the breast of pregnant women and thereby displace the placenta. Children suffer from rickets owing to the influence of spirits who are but the disengaged souls of dead children. Consumption is due to holes in the lungs by *Rakti Bhowani.*

The Korwas believe that fever in women and children is caused by *Churail* which is a female spirit and extremely mischievous. She has no fixed abode ; she takes her temporary abode on the branch of some tree on the outskirts of a village and when a woman or a child passes under that tree she descends upon the victim and causes the malady. The extreme manifestation of her wrath is experienced when the victim suffers from spasms and delirium and in the course of the latter, the affected person gives out the identity of the spirit and the manner of possession. *Churail* is easily displaceable. The smoke of burnt chillies drives her away. Sometimes a forcible shake also dispossesses the affected person.

There is a strong belief, almost universal amongst the Santals, that disease is also caused by the presence in the body of a malevolent *bonga, i.e.*, evil spirit, ghost, or demon. The spirit or *bonga*-intrusion is generally aided by the human agency of the sorcerers—but the witch of the intruding malevolent *bonga* would be powerless to offend unless the victim has committed some breach of taboo.

Spirit of Sickness.

Under this heading are listed all those etiologies which hold that disease is due to the malevolent and sometimes, though rarely, benevolent spirits turn out evil-doers through neglect or disrespect shown to them.

The difference between the functions of the spirit of intrusion and the spirit of sickness, is that in spirit-intrusion the spirit directly enters the bodies of the mortals to cause actual sickness, whereas the spirit of sickness sends disease among the mortals without intruding into their bodies.

The idea of the primitive people is that, in this case, the spirit cures the disease if they are appeased by due sacrifice and propitiation.

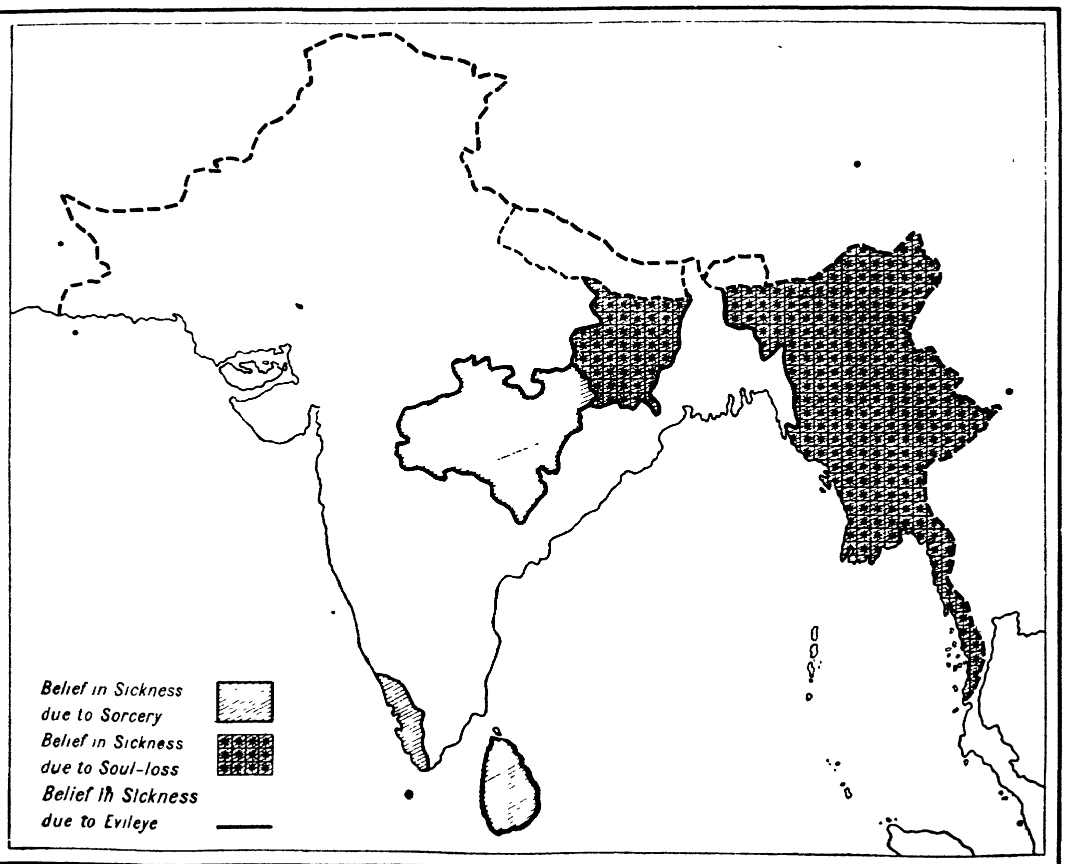
Neither Dr. Rivers nor Dr. Clements deals with this sort of belief of the primitive people in India, although this belief is almost universal among the primitive people of India.

I am now dealing with the forms in which this belief is present among the primitive people of India

The Lakhers believe that sickness is caused by the *Leurahripas* (spirits of disease) and they have an idea that the only means of averting or curing sickness is by performing the appropriate sacrifices and ceremonies.

The Kukis of Assam believe that diseases are attributed to the malevolence of some deity, and the only cure thought of is a sacrifice to propitiate him. Some diseases from their nature indicate the deity who gives them. A pain in the stomach, for instance, at once suggests '*hao*,' but in other cases it is necessary to consult one of a class of priests called *Thimpu*, who takes the place of *Sakhas* and *Ojhas* of other tribes. The *Thimpu*, however, goes to work scientifically ; he feels his patient's pulse, looks sapient, asks a few questions and determines from the replies who has to be appeased and how.

The Abors of Assam have a belief that for every disease there is a spirit and a sacrifice to that spirit is the only treatment attempted. A mountain called Rigam is the favourite abode of the spirits and is held in great awe. No one can return from its summit. Consequently its mysteries are undisclosed. In cases of sickness, when a mithun or a pig is offered no one is allowed to share the feast with the gods but the old and infirm who, as poor and superannuated, may be regarded as on the parish, and who live in the *Morang* at public expense. The Abors worship specially the spirits which live in trees. When however the spirits prove malicious, as, for example, when an Abor loses a child in the forest or cholera breaks out, the


Belief in Sickness due to Sorcery
Belief in Sickness due to Soul-loss
Belief in Sickness due to Evileye

people in revenge cut down the trees in the neighbourhood in the belief that by removing the dwellings of the spirits they coerce them into good behaviour.

The Aka tribe of Assam is not in the habit of resorting to medicines of any kind to effect a cure. If a Hrusso falls ill, fowls, etc., are offered to *Fuxu* (the god of the jungle and water) and the patient is mesmerised, but should this prove unavailing matters are left to the good pleasure of *Fuxu* alone.

The Garos believe that sickness is due to a malevolent deity to whom the illness is to be ascribed or who has the power to remove it. The Garos consult the *Kamal* (priest). He sits himself below the bamboo altar, and addresses it in a long monotonous chant. Another person meantime leads the kid, or whatever the sacrifice is to be, round and round the shrine. It is occasionally taken away and washed and on being brought back again is petted and fed with salt by the priest, and after several repititions of this ceremony the animal's head is chopped off with one cut and the altar is smeared with blood. All the time the sick man for whom the offering is made. lies beside the priest.

There are among the Mikirs numerous gods who take their names from the special diseases over which they preside or which they are asked to avert, such as *Chomang-ase* ('Khasi' fever), a Khasi god, who lives in the house and is propitiated with a goat. He is comparatively rare. This god appears to be identical with *Keche-ase*, which is rheumatism. *Ajo-ase* ('the night fever') is the deity of cholera (*ma-vur* or *pokavur*). The sacrifice to him is two fowls and many eggs and is offered at night, on the path outside the village. *So-meme* ('evil pain') is the god to whom the barren have recourse. Recurring sickness and troubles are ascribed to *Theng-thon* or *Okl-angno*, a devil (*hi-i*); he is propitiated with a goat and a pig or two or three fowls. A man gasping in sickness is being strangled by *Theng-thon*. If notwithstanding invocations of the gods, sickness grows worse, a sacrifice is offered to *Theng-thon* without summoning the diviner or *Sang-kelang-abang*.

The village folk of Eastern Bengal have a belief that diseases are caused by the spirit of disease. A few of the godlings of disease to whom these village folk pay their worship are nothing more than

deifications or personifications of the spirits of disease and ailments and of the evil and maliciously disposed dead. The godlings and goddesslings of Eastern Bengal are four in number and bear the following names:

(1) *Ekachura.*
(2) *Bara Kumara.*
(3) *Lalasa Bisvesvara.*
(4) *Khala Kumari.*

There was a strong belief amongst the Lapchas of Sikhim that disease is mainly caused by the malevolent spirit. Mr. C. D. Beauvoir Stocks has written a story in his Lepcha Folklore that there was the evil spirit of small-pox (*Rum-du-mung* and *Rurn-du*), the evil spirit of leprosy (*Dom-mung*), etc.

The Sauria-Paharias of the Santhal Parganas within Behar believe that diseases, specially the epidemics, often take place at the advent of many devils by train. The elephant is also able to bring a number of devils, and it is said to be wise to sacrifice to them. The models of train and elephant are thrown in the place indicated by the *Demno* (Shaman) or by one of the village women who is in the habit of being possessed by the *Gurya Gosain.* The spirit of a dead *Demno* or diviner haunts and kills pregnant women.

The Chakmas of Chittagong believe that disease is caused by evil spirits. Such as there are demons of cholera, fever, small-pox etc. They propitiate in a river-bed, or in the thick jungle where spirits delight to dwell, with offerings of goats, fowls, ducks, pigeons and flowers.

The Kadars of Bhagalpur and Santhal Parganas have a strong belief that diseases are caused by the evil spirits. They believe that death or disease in their household comes due to the neglect of worship of their spirits and deities.

The wild Kharias of Dhalbhum within Chota-Nagpur believe in the spirit-basis of disease. To them most of the ailments are caused by the spirits and deities. When disease prolongs for a period beyond their natural duration they take recourse to a divinatory ceremony known as *Nimcha-Nimch.* The purpose of the ceremony is to find out the spirit responsible for the ailment who is then worshipped according to the prescribed rites.

The Hos of Chota-Nagpur have an idea that one of the causes of disease is the wrath of some evil spirits who have to be appeased. Women dying in child-birth are believed to transform themselves into malignant spirits and delay in delivery and other complications of pregnancy is attributed to these spirits. Consumption is due to the holes in the lungs by *Rakti Bhowani*. Fever is caused by *Bhowani*. Some sacrifice or offerings to this evil spirit effects a complete cure. Small-pox or cholera are caused by the *Maharani* or *Sitalamata* and a regular propitiation of these deities ensure the safety of the victim.

The Mundas of Chota-Nagpur believe that generally *Nasan bongas* and some other evil spirits bring diseases.

The Oraons of Chota-Nagpur believe that diseases are caused by malevolent spirits which they call disease-spirits. With the more important spirits that may bring disease and death the Oraon seeks to enter into permanent friendly relations, if possible ; the others he deals with when occasion arises and as circumstances require.

The Majhwars of Chota-Nagpur hold an idea that the cholera epidemic arises from the wrath of a *Dano* who lives in the Banka Hill, for whoever approaches the cave or its neighbourhood is seized with the malady. The disease or the epidemic is averted by *Simuria* who is regularly propitiated by the Majhwars. The Majhwars also believe that fever is sent by some spirit.

The Gonds of Central Provinces think when any one falls ill that *Narayan Deo* becomes impatient and they at once perform his worship. A young pig is offered to him. The pig is laid on its back over the threshold of the door, and a number of men press a heavy beam of wood on its body till it is crushed to death. They cut off the tail and testicles and bury them near the threshold. The body of the pig is washed in a hole dug in the yard and it is then cooked and eaten.

The Todas of Nilgiri Hills hold a belief that illness of man, woman, children and domesticated animals is due to the anger of gods and they at once go to the diviners to ascertain the cause of their displeasure.

The Kadars, a hilly tribe of Cochin State, have a belief that all kinds of sickness are the work of the demons.

The Ulladans, a Malayali Hindu caste of Cochin State, have an idea that all cases of sickness are attributed to the malignant influence of demons, whom it is necessary to propitiate.

The Agasas of Mysore State have a belief that they have goddesses of small-pox, cholera, and plague. They havs to be propitiated at the outbreak of one of these epidemics, by sacrificing animals.

The Veddas of Ceylon hold a strong belief that evil spirits bring illness. The *Maha Yakino* are the spirits of old Vedda women, the chief of whom is the *Maha Kiriamma*, who in many cases is supposed to send sickness, and they make offerings to them in order that this may be removed. *Vihara Deo* is considered to send sickness, and he is invoked to make men whole again. Rice is cooked with milk and this with betel and arecanut is put upon a *maesa.* Only the Shaman dances and after the ceremony the offering is eaten by the whole community, including the sick man. Dances are held to cure sickness.

Breach of Taboo.

The primitive people of the world think that to disregard and disobey the religious or social prohibitions having divine sanction, are a violation of divine laws and hence gods become angry and send punishment directly without any human intervention in the form of sickness. This disobedience may be quite unintentional and even unknown to the sufferers, but it is none the less regarded as the real cause of their sickness. I am now citing below how this belief is present among the primitive people of India:

The Lakhers of Assam have an *ana* (prohibition) to throw any one's hair into a salt-lick as the evil spirit will seize the owner of the hair. If any one spits into a salt-lick, the spirit becomes angry and the spitter will suffer from tooth-ache or his teeth will all fall out. A *jhum* must not be cut above a salt-lick, as people while in their fields use the field for purposes of nature and the filth is carried into the salt-lick by the rain. This naturally annoys the spirit and the owner of the field falls ill. It is *ana* for a man to help a woman weave; it is supposed to lead to consumption. It is *ana* to leave certain articles such as gongs, money, baskets and paddy in other people's house. As these articles are held to have a saw, and to be able to cause disease, the owner of the house in which they are left

will go blind or suffer from a sore throat or tooth-ache or rheumatism. An *atlong* is a stagnant pool ; if a person spits into an *atlong* sores will appear on his face and if he relieves nature near one, sores will appear on his private parts. It is *ana* to strike a man with a woman's skirt, as it is believed that if a man is struck with a skirt he will become consumptive.

Among the Ao Nagas of Assam a belief can be found that if an infant is sickly and ailing enquiries are made, and it can generally be discovered that the pregnant mother had stumbled or jobbed her foot against a stone at some spot.

The Naga tribes of Manipur believe that mysterious sickness, the sudden appearance of boils, blindness, loss of speech and premature greyness are the consequences of breaches of the *genna* prohibitions.

This belief is also present among the Birhors of Chota-Nagpur. There is a taboo among the Birhors not to sit on the hearth ; should they do so, they will be afflicted with sores. There is a prohibition among the Birhors not to point with the finger at the rainbow ; should they do so the offending finger will get maimed or curved. A man suffering from ophthalmia must not comb his hair. If he does so the pain in the eyes will increase. A Jaghi Birhor must not bathe in the rain-water which has jast fallen. If he does so he will get ophthalmia. A Birhor must not spit on the earth ; should he do so he will suffer from sores in the mouth. A Birhor must not burn the leaves, or the wood of the Soso (*Semicarpus anacardium*) tree until the *Jomnawa* (or ceremonial eating of the new crop) has been celebrated ; should he do so, he will suffer from sores in his body.

The Mori clan of the Bhils of Central Provinces has the peacock for its totem. The members of this clan salute the foot-prints of this bird where they find them. If a member of this clan knowingly sets foot on the track of a peacock, he is sure to suffer from some disease afterwards.

The pregnant women of Veddas of Ceylon would not eat venison or hare's flesh. It is their taboo. If they disobey this then pains and dangers of child-birth are so well recognised by the Veddas that a special ceremony is performed and a prayer is offered for the safety. If this ceremony is omitted the mother and child will die.

Sorcery.

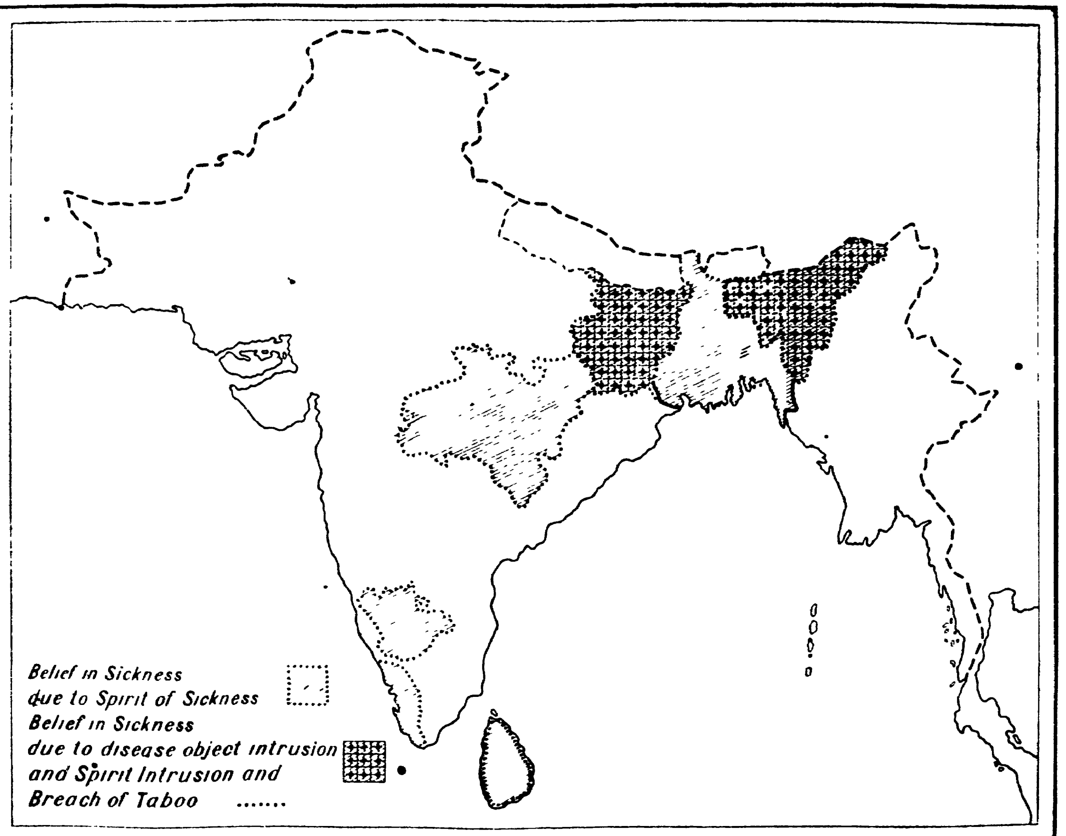
As Dr. Clement says, " in it are grouped all those theories which ascribe sickness either to the manipulations of persons skilled in magic or to the operations of human beings who exercise some control over the supernatural world."

Magic of this sort, according to Frazer, is of two types. The magician who wishes to bring sickness or injury on a person may construct a small image which represents the victim. This image is then transfixed with arrows, burned or otherwise ill-treated accompanied by suitable *mantrams* (incantations); such measures are supposed to cause the person against whom they are directed to fall ill. This type of magic is known as ' imitative.' In the second, the magician obtains something of his victim's body, such as nail, hair, excrements, etc., these objects are then put to the proper magical procedure and the person is at once attacked with disease. This is called ' contagious magic.' Except these two types, however, there is the belief that persons in direct communication with the supernatural world may cause evil spirits or demons to enter a person's body. Such persons may steal the victim's soul and make him ill. Disease-objects are also sent magically by witches. I am now citing how this idea acts among the primitive tribes of India.

Among the Angami Nagas of Assam there is a belief that illness or even death is caused by the device of wooden or clay figure into which thorns or bamboo spikes are struck.

The Lakhers believe that the magicians put some substance, possibly an insect or a small stone, into food and drink, and that this eats the internal organs and so causes death. Among the Thados there are magicians who practise black magic to avert disease, death and many other evil things. Chins also believe in witchcraft which causes disease and death.

The Mikirs believe that sickness, if long continued and severe, is frequently attributed to witchcraft (*maja*). A man suffering from long sickness is said to be *maja kelong*—"witchcraft has got hold of him." To discover the author of the spell, or the god or demon who has brought the trouble and must be propitiated, the services of a diviner are necessary.


Belief in Sickness
due to Spirit of Sickness
Belief in Sickness
due to disease object intrusion
and Spirit Intrusion and
Breach of Taboo ....

Among the Khasis of Khasi Hill in Assam the practice of necromancy is very common and the priests or wise men, of the various tribes, are well acquainted with the mysteries of incantation, divination and general black magic by which they bring miseries, disease and death.

The Gonds of Central Provinces, whenever they want to injure an enemy, will make an image of him in a clay preferably taken from underneath his footprint and carry it to the cemetery. Here they offer red lead, red thread, bangles, and various kinds of grain and pulse to the ghost and to them, " male and female deities, old and newly buried, maimed and lame, spirits of the wind, I pronounce this charm with your help." Then they pierce the figure with arrows in the chest and cut it with a knife in the region of the liver and think that their enemy will die. Another method is to draw the likeness of an enemy on cloth with lime or charcoal and bury it in a pot in front of his house on a Sunday or Tuesday night so that he may walk on it in the morning, when they hope that the same result will be achieved.

One who wishes to transfer sickness to another person obtains a cloth belonging to the latter and draws two human figures on it, one right side up and the other upside down, in lamp-black. After saying charms over the cloth he puts it back surreptitiously in the owner's house. When people are ill they make a vow to some god that if they recover they will sacrifice a certain number of animals proportionate to the severity of the illness. If the patient recovers and the vow is for a larger number of animals than he can afford, he sets fire to a piece of forest so that a number of animals may be burnt as an offering to the god and his vow may thus be fulfilled.

The Hos believe that the witch if she want to kill a man must shoot an arrow at the supposed effigy of the man or his shadow. But the man thus acted upon will not die suddenly but will develop consumption which is believed to cause holes in the lungs and the victim dies a terrible death. The arrow is generally shot at night without being detected, so that the victim may be taken by the disease unawares.

Among the Birhors it is found that in order to cause death or sickness of an enemy an Uthlu Birhor takes up some *arua* rice in his hand and invokes his *Nasan* spirit and throws the rice in the direction of the house of the enemy, at the same time exhorting the spirit to go in that direction and injure the enemy.

Among the Oraons witchery is present in full swing. When a sorcerer wants to do some mischief, he makes an effigy of the victim and shoots an arrow at that effigy reciting some incantations. Within a few days the victim is attacked with disease and if the *Mati* (Shaman) fails to cure him, he expires.

The Santals' idea of witchery and sorcery is such that a large volume might be written on them. Their conception of disease is mostly from witchery and sorcery. The Santals in order to do some harm to their enemy draw a picture or build an effigy of the person to be injured and shoot an arrow at the picture or the effigy. After a few days the victim is attacked with disease and it often becomes fatal. Sometimes they bury *bonga* (spirit) in places expecting him to do what is wanted, often they bury a tuft of hair with vermilion which is found to do mischief.

Sorcery can be found among the Todas also, by which they bring harm and illness in a family. The Toda sorcerer collects some human hair, no matter whether they are of the person to be injured or not. Five small stones are then tied together by means of those hair, and then both hair and stones are tied up in a piece of cloth. Then holding the bundle he utters some incantations and carries the bundle to the village of the man upon whom he wishes these misfortunes to fall and hides them secretly in the thatch of the roof of the victim's hut. Misfortune, mishaps and diseases creep into the family.

The Parayans and Panans, of Malabar and Cochin, practise '*Oti* cult,' which is the cult of breaking human body by magic. When the Parayans become proficient in it they can render themselves invisible or assume the form of a bull, a cat, or a dog. They are supposed to be able to entice pregnant women from their houses at midnight to destroy the fœtus in the womb and substitute for it other sustances and to bring sickness and death upon others.

Among the Sinhalese and wild Veddas of Ceylon extraordinary prevalence of magic can be found by which the Vedda sorcerers cause disease and death among their enemies.

Black magic is present amongst the Karens of Burma, by which they work evil on a person and thereby cause death and diseases.

Mr. Marshall has recorded a process by which the Karens work evil on a person.

" By blowing on a cup of water, which is later to be handed to the intended victim, the worker of this black magic imparts to it a baleful action that will cause him sicken and die. A quid of betel blown upon in the same way may be thrown at the person intended to be harmed, and if it strikes him, will produce the fatal result desired. Some sorcerers pretend to have the power of introducing a lingering disease, which after a year or two will terminate the life of the victims. Other methods resorted to are reputed to stimulate the growth of tumors, thick membrane or bones in the bowels of a person and thus effect his premature death."

The Kachins of Burma believe that sickness is sometimes imputed to witchcraft and spells. I am citing some instances which Mr. Gilhodes has recorded in his book.

" The *Tingshawng* consists of magic formulas which the priests recite in the wood or on the spot whilst throwing alternately water and ginger leaves, which go and poison the food of the enemy and make him die immediately; there is no remedy for this witchcraft. Luckily it does not always work and produces then no bad result whatever. Some high *dumsa* alone knows it, but, at least for the present they do not appear to make much use of it."

" The *Lawng* is performed by uttering charm words on objects which afterwards fly away into the chest of the person aimed at and cause his death or at least a severe illness. In this way a bone is sent or a bit of stone, a needle, a penknife, hairs, lead, iron, leather, wax, etc."

Evil Eye, Evil Mouth, Evil Touch.

Mr. S. C. Roy has given clear explanations of these which are as follows:

"Some of the primitive people have an idea that the earth is not only full of spirits of all sorts and various degrees of power but every thing, animate or inanimate, and certain intangible things such as a name or a number is instinct with a soul or spiritual energy. Some of these energies or forces are intensively active, others less so, and still others are dormant or almost so. It is only the more active energies that man has to reckon with. Some of these energies or occult

influences are beneficent and others are maleficent. The most dreaded of these maleficient occult influences is the evil eye. Some persons are born with an evil potency in their eyes and whenever their evil eye falls on other people or their food, drink, cattle, crops, harm is sure to ensue to them. People with evil eye are particularly averse to the sight of the happiness or hilarity or plenty of others and whenever the evil eye of such a person falls on a healthy child, a well dressed young beau or belle, plump and well fed cattle or luxuriant crops, harm is sure to overtake them. The mischievous influence of the evil eye is further strengthened by the evil mouth that is to say by the witch or other person with the evil eye exclaiming or muttering to himself or herself ' how fine it looks ! ' When the evil eye falls upon a young person merrily dancing at the village Akhra the victim may at once fall down in a faining fit or some more serious consequence may follow. A drop of blood may mysteriously appear on the clothes, and serious illness follows before long. When the evil eye falls on some flour or bread or other article of food, it gets poisoned——the bread or other food will be imperfectly baked or emit a foul smell or cause diarrhœa or other sickness to those who partake of it. The aid of a witch-doctor is sought to neutralise the ill-effects of the evil eye. Some primitive people also have an idea of pollution and danger from contact with the leavings of other people's food or drink. The evil or potentially evil power with which all strangers and aliens are credited is believed to pass on to the remnant of food or drink taken by them and even to the leaf-plates from which food or drink has been taken. And if anybody happens to walk across such plates or cups he runs the risk of contracting pain in his throat by this *laghan* (crossing), as it is called, or by stepping across some mustard or other things impregnated with the force of some powerful spell pronounced over it by a sorcerer or by stepping across some person suffering from similar pain."

The above belief is strongly present amongst almost all the primitive tribes of Chota-Nagpur and Santal Parganas.

The dread of evil eye is present among the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills. Their idea is that various misfortunes may befall a man if any one says that he is looking very well or is very well dressed. It is bad that anyone should look at a man when he is eating. The idea

of the Todas is that he is soon attacked with disease concerned with stomach.

The Velains of cochin State have a dread of evil eye ; chanting of '*mantram*' with '*Bhasman*' (ashes) thrown over the body of a patient is taken to be an effective cure for the potency of the evil eye.

Conclusion.

From the foregoing account it is evident that primitive peoples of India had a belief in the objective realistic intrusion of a disease-object overlaid by a concept of a spirit-basis of disease. How far the former is to be associated with the oldest pre-Dravidian culture stratum of India and how far it spreads along with the Austric family of languages is yet a matter of future enquiry. Similary how much the spirit-basis of disease owes to the Hindu concept of '*Atman*' (soul) or finer sheaths of the body or *vice versa* requires still deeper investigation. How much and in what way both these ideas spread as our culture complex is also a fruitful field of enquiry. My best thanks are due to my friends, Mr. J. K. Gan and Mr. J. K. Bose, both of the Anthropological Laboratory, Calcutta University, for their valuable help in the preparation of this article.

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SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE AIMOL KUKIS

By

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Introduction.

The social organisation of a tribe on the borders of Assam and Burma where cultural influences from all sides have been working from time immemorial is bound to be of special interest. The Aimol Kukis—Old Kukis as they are called linguistically—dwindling rapidly in number and now numbering only about 500 souls, have strangely enough maintained their individual texture in the midst of overwhelming population of head-hunting Nagas, highly Hinduised Vaishnab Manipuris and strongly military North Burmese and Shan Tribes. Thus social institutions in their pristine form, such as the dual organisation, survive amongst them and yet they are in a process of modification. The dynamic social forces can thus be actually seen to-day at work amongst these tribes. Conditions sometimes reminiscent of Pacific Islands or Siberia or of aboriginal America meet us at every step side by side with customs, such as serving for a bride or the younger brother inheriting the paternal property or the marriage of the widow of the elder brother, that take us back to the Biblical traditions of Jacob's inheritance or his serving for years for winning the hand of Rachel or the Rig-Vedic custom of '*niyoga*.' Further new sidelights on the primitive background of perhaps the caste system in India are afforded by the distinct organisation of a superior and inferior moiety with definitely different rights of religious worship. So also the intriguing problem

of the origins of exogamy so permeating the Hindu social structure of marriage outside the *gotra* can be studied in some of its simplest forms in the tendencies to constitute small exogamic groups in odd or even numbers.

The social rules which are much more rigid than any other conventions are influenced by the superior culture of the neighbouring tribes ; yet changes in their social customs are very few, sometimes the Aimols have to disregard some of their age-old customs and traditions through dire necessity. As in the case of dual division in which the rule was that every member of the superior moiety would have to marry in the inferior moiety ; but now-a-days one of the clans of the inferior moiety is practically extinct and the people of the superior moiety who are now greater in number, have great difficulty in finding out a suitable mate in the opposite moiety according to their social custom. Before marriage they still now try to get a bride from the opposite moiety and if a girl is not available from the same then they marry within the moiety but never within the clan or its subdivisions. This modification is necessary to protect the tribe from being extinct.

In the family system some modifications have also been made, as in the case of returning of the widowed daughter to the family after the death of her husband without marrying the husband's younger brother. In former times the widow was inherited by the husband's younger brother and in most cases she was married by him, because in that case he was saved from the burden of service in the house of his future father-in-law, but now-a-days, in some cases specially, rich men's daughters who do not like to marry the husband's younger brother return to the family without paying any compensation or without any reproach from the village elders and afterwards marry any other person they choose.

Another most important trait in their marriage system is the marriage by service which was very common among them from olden times but now-a-days by coming in contact with the people of superior culture they try to replace it in favour of marriage by payments. But as the payment which is charged by the bride's party is very high so this system is still now not in vogue among the poorer people but is becoming usual among the rich.

The ceremonies to attain social distinction which were so common in olden times are rapidly decreasing in their importance, because the rich man now-a-days does not hanker after getting a special distinction from the villagers by spending a lot of money to please them, but on the other hand he tries to get any post in the State Office and thereby raise his position within the village as a representative of the State. This charm for office tends them more and more towards the Manipuris and gradually they are introducing many traits of the Manipuri culture into their own. In this way they are losing their own individuality and are becoming a half-caste with traits of different cultures, especially the Manipuris, although they have already imbibed some of the traits of the Naga culture.

The most important thing is their lack of literary education which saves them from being absorbed by the superior culture. For this lack of education they still obey the old customs and conventions and cannot interchange their ideas with the people of higher culture. For this reason their villages still now can easily be recognised as the typical Kuki village with their age-old traditions and conventions with but few exceptions.

Family.

The family consists of a man, his wife and children. The sons when they are married, make separate establishments for their family and in this case they are usually helped by the father. The unmarried boys and girls generally live with their parents within the same room but in different compartments. In former times these Kukis, like the Nagas, had bachelor's house and the unmarried boys from the age of eight or nine left their parents' custody and lived in the dormitory under the leadership of a senior boy; but now-a-days these organisations are extinct and they live with their parents till their marriage. The girls never had any such dormitory and they have to live with their parents till they are married. The number of children in a family is not always very small and so when a man has got a large number of children in his house, he is bound to transfer some of them to some neighbour's or chief's house for their shelter. The unmarried girls are never allowed to sleep in another man's house.

Among the Aimols polygyny is allowed but one can rarely find a man with two wives. The reasons for this are that they are very poor and they cannot afford to maintain two families at the same time. Moreover the man can only marry when he gets the permission of the first wife but this permission is very easy because the first wife can then easily shift the burden of the household on the latter. Only rich men can afford to marry twice or thrice as they like.

The orphans generally live in the house of the chief or the rich man of the village and they have to work for the family and at the time of their marriage they are liberally helped by the members of the family to build a house.

Sometimes a widowed daughter who does no like to marry the husband's younger brother returns to the family of her father and is maintained by the father and in this case she loses all right over the property of her deceased husband. A case like this was found in Unapal village, where the chief's daughter returned to the family after the death of her husband and was living with the chief in the same house. This daughter gave birth to a posthumous child and when asked about the future of the child the chief said that the child would be brought up by the family as one of its own members; but cases like this are very rare.

Clans.

The Aimol society is divided in the following manner :—

I. Superior Moiety.

(1)	Chonghom	Khosir, Khurchung
(2)	Chonghomlaita	Daren, Sumbukpu

II. Inferior Moiety.

(1)	Lanoo	Thimpoo, Durnai
(2)	Chaithu	Lusai, Lumdin

These two divisions were rigid in former times but now-a-days on account of the unequal number of men and women in these two halves the rigidity is slackened. In five of the six villages there are only three phratries with their subdivisions and only in 'Kha

Aimol ' village, which is the biggest of all, we get all the phratries and their subdivisions. While taking the preliminary notes of the marriage rules and prohibitions of these people no rigid dual division (*i. e.*, the division of the tribe into two halves of which a man of one division must marry the girl of the other), could be traced but on the other hand it seems that all the clans of this tribe are exogamous and a man of one clan can marry into any of the other clans. From firsthand information this rule seems to be in vogue among them but if the details of the marriage regulations and the subsequent modifications for different reasons are noted then it is easier to find out an interesting type of dual organisation amongst this people.

In the course of the collection of genealogies, one of the men gave the information that he belonged to the Chonghom-Khurchung and could marry a girl of the same clan, which is impossible according to their own statements. The answer of the subject, now very old, after being closely cross-questioned about this marriage in his own clan, cleared up a case of merging of clans and of adoption into clans. This old man stated that formerly he belonged to the Chaithu phratry and having been destitute of all relatives and brought up in his mother's phratry and clan he was subsequently given a girl from his mother's clan and he has adopted the phratry and the clan of his wife. This is also interesting as the whole scheme is patrilineal and the clan is descended from the father to the son. Questioned about their group the phratry-name is given first and then the name of the clan together, as Chonghom (phratry)-Khurchung (clan) or Lanoo (phratry)-Thimpoo (clan) and so on.

The cause of breaking down of this dual division which at one time was very rigidly worked, is not far to seek. The tribe is in a process of decay with decreasing numbers and is scattered in several villages far away from each other. In one of the villages there are only thirteen families while in another there are only seven. Besides, the marriage rule is by service in the future father-in-law's house for three years. And the usual age for marriage is 25 to 30 and as by this time the individual has been already in charge of some fields and has to look over the fields of his father, he can hardly leave his own village and go over to another village to serve for his wife who has

generally to be sought within the village and the rigid choice restriction to only clans of the other moiety is slackened. But in social and religious matters this dual division is strictly observed.

In the superior half, as we have already observed, there is the Chonghom and Chonghomlaita and in the inferior half there is the Lanoo and Chaithu or only the Lanoo where the Chaithu group has disappeared. The social status of the superior moiety is recognised in all the important offices of the village. The headman (Tamshakai), the assistant headman (Yakosing), and the priest (Khulpu) all have to come from the superior moiety. The groups of the inferior moiety were wholly excluded from holding these or any other offices formerly. But now this rule has been somewhat slackened. Formerly the headman or chief in some village could be elected only from the particular Khosir clan of the Chonghom phratry as in the Kha Aimol village but in other villages only the Chonghom phratry could be eligible for a headmanship. In the Khulen and Khunjai villages some minor offices as Shumpu and Tangba, who are the beadles under a superior officer for collecting money for ceremonial purposes, are thrown open to the inferior groups. In the Kha Aimol village the post of the Meithei Lumbu or interpreter with the State in Meithei language is now given to a Lanoo but this office depended on the knowledge of the Meithei language and though now reckoned as a honourable post was surely introduced when the Aimols came to settle peacefully in the Meithei State and submitted to the State for protection and cannot be considered to have been an integral part of the society previously.

In religious affairs the observance of this remarkable dual fissure of the society is still adhered to. There is an annual festival in December and we have then the two parts of the Aimol society participating in two different functions centring curiously enough in two different gods. The name of the god of the superior class is Bungtay Pathian represented by some stones in the jungle in a small hut erected for the purpose. On the first day of the festival the priest of the superior moiety with some assistants would bring rice-beer (*zu*), and pigs and hens for sacrifice of which a portion would be kept for the deity and the rest would be taken back to the village. Only the members of the superior moiety would partake of this meat and drink and for three days thence there would be dancing, music

and merry-making. The inferior moiety would be rigidly excluded from this ; they would have their different function simultaneously at a different part. They would worship the Seeling Pathian when the other half worshipped Bungtay Pathian. They would have their own priests and offer their own sacrifices which their group only would partake of and the music and the merry-making for three days as in the other case would also go on in their own group at the same time. Then these two groups worship two different deities and have two different ceremonies simultaneously without one part of the tribe interfering, with the other.

Then again there is another important deity, or village godling, worshipped just in the outskirts of the village in the month of Thamur (July). This worship is looked upon as of special importance to ensure success in the field. Elaborate arrangements are made on the occasion of the worship of this deity. On that day the whole village is at genna, *i.e.*, no one is allowed to go outside the village and all work is suspended and no stranger is allowed to come in on that sacred or holy day. But the inferior moiety is never allowed to be present during the function which is performed solely by the superior moiety, the inferior group only getting a share of the offered sacrificial meat after the worship is over.

Thirdly the Aimols have got a number of social status ceremonies. Anybody who has accumulated sufficient riches may perform any of these ceremonies and attain a superior position within the society. But while the individuals of the superior moiety have got this right none of the members of the inferior moiety is allowed this privilege even if he has sufficient wealth.

Fourthly of the fifty-three marriages which we get in the genealogies, forty-three are between the members of the two moieties and only ten marriages are performed within the moiety. From this it follows that they still try to avoid marrying within the moiety.

Lastly the group solidarity and privileges of the superior moiety are such that they have resisted all efforts at conversion and it is only the inferior moiety who could be converted because they had an inherent inferior social status which they try to change by adopting the religion of the ruling British people.

Terms of relationship :—

Apa—	Father.
	Father's elder brother.
	Father's younger brother.
Anu—	Mother.
	Mother's elder sister.
	Mother's younger sister.
Kanai—	Son.
	Daughter.
	Brother's daughter or son.
	Father's elder or younger brother's son or daughter.
	Wife's brother's son or daughter.
	Elder or younger sister's child.
	Husband's brother's child.
Aou—	Elder brother (m. s. & w. s.).
	Elder sister (m. s. & w. s.).
	Father's elder or younger brother's child (if elder and if younger by name).
	Father's sister's child (if elder and if younger by name).
	Mother's elder or younger sister's child (do.)
	Husband's sister's husband (do.)
	Wife's sister's husband (do.)
	Husband's brother's wife (do.)
	Husband's sister (do.)
	Wife's sister (do.)
	Sister's husband (do.)
Kanaipungpa	Younger brother.
	(All brothers who are younger than the speaker is addressed as 'Kanaipungpa' or by name).
Kapu—	Mother's brother.
	Father's father.
	Mother's father.
	Father's sister's son.
	Wife's father.
Karang—	Father's sister's husband.

Katūpā—	Mother's brother's son.
	Sister's son.
	Husband's sister's son.
	Son's son (m.s. & w.s.).
	Daughter's son (m.s. & w. s.).
Ani—	Father's sister.
Kapi—	Mother's brother's wife.
	Father's mother.
	Mother's mother.
	Wife's mother.
Atunu—	Son's daughter (m. s. & w. s.).
	Daughter's daughter (m. s. & w. s.).
Katarpu—	Husband's father.
Katarpi—	Husband's mother.
	Husband's elder brother's wife.
Kamappa—	Daughter's husband (m. s. & w. s.).
Kamoinu—	Son's wife (m. s. & w. s.).
	Husband's brother's wife (if younger).
Kanucha—	Wife's brother.
Kacharnu—	Sister's husband.
Kamoirang—	Husband's brother.
	Brother's wife.
Kathurpa—	Son's wife's father.
	Daughter's husband's father.
Kathurnu—	Son's wife's mother.
	Daughter's husband's mother.

The terms of relationship may be described as classificatory. The suffixes 'a' or 'ka' are always used before a word to address a person. 'Ter' is added to a word denoting elder and 'nga' denoting younger. 'Nu' is generally added to a word indicating feminine gender.. From the terms of relationship, we find that the mother's brother is classed with the wife's father, and mother's brother's wife is classed with wife's mother. This indicates that a person can marry his mother's brother's daughter and this is verified from the statements of the people. A man's proper marriage is with his mother's brother's daughter but he is never allowed to marry his father's sister's daughter, that is, one type of cross-cousin marriage is allowed. In genealogical tables this type of marriage is not very common. The reasons for it

are that a man has to serve for three years before his marriage in his future father-in-law's house and this puts great hardship upon the people and so they try to find some one near his village for his future father-in-law. In this case he can manage both his own and his future father-in-law's works. For this reason the marriage with mother's brother's daughter which was common among them in olden times when they were a hunting people and they all lived close by, is now disfavoured by them now being scattered in villages far away from each other.

Birth.

When a girl is pregnant she has to obey some taboos as, for example, she is not allowed to go outside the village or she must not go to the burial ground or by the road leading to the burial place. The reasons for those taboos are that the evil spirits who are always haunting about those places may do some mischief to the girl or to the future child. During the advanced state of pregnancy she is not allowed to do any hard work though she is not debarred from doing some minor work for the household. From the beginning of the pregnancy she is debarred from taking some food such as flesh, eggs, wasp's nests, etc. Moreover she has to obey the general food restrictions imposed upon women. During the advanced state she is not allowed to lie in the same bed with her husband and from that time she makes a separate arrangement for herself near the fire-place, and afterwards in that place the child is born.

Dreams, according to them, play an important part in predetermining the birth of a boy or a girl. If the enceinte during her course sees that a *dao* or a spear is presented to her by anybody, then the people will generalise that the woman will give birth to a male child. But on the other hand if she dreams that she is presented with a necklace or a ring from a person or dreams of sexual intercourse between two persons then the case will be reversed. Sometimes the Khulpu (chief priest) by feeling the abdomen of the enceinte with his hands claims to determine the birth of a son or a daughter. In his opinion if the child is on the right side then it will be a boy and if on the left side it will be a girl. But his findings are not always correct.

If a girl becomes pregnant before her marriage then the village elders asks the boy to marry the girl ; but if he refuses then a heavy

fine is imposed on the youngman and the fine is paid to the girl. The girl stays with the parents and after the birth of the child she may be married to another man. In this case the child is brought up by the family of his mother's father but cases like this are very rare. Abortion is never practised in any case.

When the enceinte is in trouble with the child the husband digs a hole in the centre of the courtyard in front of the house for pitching a bamboo post to avoid the evil eyes of the malevolent spirits, but the husband never puts earth in to keep the post erect. If he does so they think that the child's nose will be closed when born. This is done in case of minor troubles during pregnancy. But in serious cases the priest comes and makes arrangements for the worship of 'Arkun Pathian,' the spirit who causes all sorts of trouble during this period.

The worship of 'Arkun Pathian' is made at three or four o'clock in the morning. The priest comes with an assistant on the day of worship. First they dig two holes in the courtyard of the house and pitch two pieces of bamboo about two feet in height in these holes. Then another bamboo of the same size is tied to these bamboos crosswise. Two pieces of plantain leaves are spread on each side of the posts with one egg on each. Two pots of *zu* are also kept on them. Then the priest, facing east with two red cocks in both his hands with a stooping posture chant the following incantation:—

" Ah—ha—Pathian
Andurai andukan shemdurai shemdukan,
Neshoknoo nikhoiya thakohoya
Nakhungmoo ashen nargirmoo ashen ;
Dungmar asha khangmar asha,
Thing resha pahoi asha,
Thangching arkhouna arkhang,
Robo aphur ashanga
Thinsiat thopoymaro lungkhiat thopomaro ;
Nanasit timaking nantan timaking
Oitiang chanoo nashum pero.
Ati thingshi thomero lungshiat thomero,
Do-Pathian andurai andukan shemdurai shemdukan."

The general meaning of the above incantation is that we are invoking you for the welfare of the woman who is suffering from serious trouble. Oh God (Pathian), please be kind on her by taking these humble offerings and relieve her of her pains.

If after a few years of marriage no child is born then also they worship 'Arkun Pathian' in the same way and if in any case a child is born after the worship then they think that the child is the gift of the deity and they arrange an elaborate ceremony with copious feasts after the birth of the child.

On the day of delivery an experienced old woman of the village attends the pregnant girl with some other female attendants and relatives. When the labour pains begin the enceinte squats on a stool six inches from the ground and the old lady sits behind her with both of her hands on the belly of the girl and when necessity occurs she presses the belly and the child comes out safely. After the delivery the child is kept on a piece of cloth and an old woman cuts the umbilical cord with the sharp edge of a split bamboo. The afterbirth is put in an earthen pot and a hole of one and a half cubit is made behind the house in which it is kept and covered with earth. Then with hot water the attendant woman cleanses the mother and the newborn child. The girl stays in the same room near the fire-place and fire is kept burning all along and sometimes an old woman stays with the girl for her help. In the case of a male child the uncleanliness is for five days and in the case of a female child it is only for three days. During this period the mother is not allowed to do any household work or to touch the sacred post of the house. No villager takes anything from this house, and she only takes rice, dried fish and rice-beer. If she takes any meat or egg, during these days they think that her colour will be blackened.

After a successful delivery all the women who attended the mother go to a near-by stream and after washing themselves they assemble in the house of the newborn child. Here the father of the child arranges a feast for the ladies. The old lady who held the belly of the mother drinks the *zu* first followed by the rest. The village elders get a share of the meat which is provided on the occasion.

When the news of the birth of the child reaches the mother's brother, he, on that very day, sends a dish of cooked rice, fish, meat and some clothes for the newborn baby. If the house of the mother's brother is in some far-off village, then some presents are sent to the baby some days afterwards.

Name may be given to the child by his father, mother, father's father, father's mother and mother's brother. On the very day of birth, generally, a name is given by any one of the above persons and from that time onwards the name can never be changed. Selection of a name is a very easy affair among them because they never care for the meaning of a name and ordinarily no one can say the meaning or significance of his name. Sometimes when a child looks like any of his predeceased ancestors the people address the child by that ancestor's name. When the child is two or three years old, a ceremony is performed known as 'Naipak;' but this ceremony is not common to all; only the rich men of the village perform it. On this occasion *zu* is served copiously to all guests present and music and dancing go on continually for the whole day. Sometimes these guests give some presents to the newborn baby.

Ear-piercing ceremony is very common among them. In the case of a girl it is pierced on the third day of her birth and in the case of a boy on the fifth. On that day a cock or a hen is sacrificed and the meat is divided among the different village elders. The head is given to the headman, the entrails to the second headman and the legs to the village cooks known as 'Tangba.' The remaining portions are cooked and distributed in little bits to all persons of the village and a huge quantity of *zu* is consumed by the villagers on that day.

Hair is cut on the third, fifth or at any subsequent date but no ceremony is performed on the occasion.

If at childbirth the enceinte dies then she is buried in a separate cemetery outside the village. If the newborn baby dies with the mother then the child is also buried with the mother ; but if only the child dies then the child is buried near a stream. If a pregnant lady dies then the womb is cut open and the child is taken out and both of them are buried side by side. In all these cases, no regular burial rites are performed and only the old men carry the body to a

distant place and bury it. Things which are given with the deceased in case of normal death are not given in all these cases which are regarded as due to accidents.

If the mother of the child alone dies in childbirth then the child is given to a married girl of the village who has got a baby. But in this case also a restriction is made in the bringing up of the child and the baby is never allowed to suck from the breast of a woman of a different clan. Sometimes some presents are given by the father to the family who takes care of the child.

These people have a greater liking for sons than daughters. The reasons forwarded by them are that sons generally assist the father in his manual labour and in his old days they take care of him ; but another reason which was of much greater importance in olden days is that the youngmen saved the village from the raids of the neighbouring tribes and so they were more prized by the people.

Twins ('phirnai') are never liked by the Aimols and they think them as bad omens.

Marriage.

Marriage amongst the Aimols is regulated by exogamy. A man of one phratry or any of the clans into which it is subdivided cannot marry within it. As the Aimol society is divided into two moieties so a man of one moiety will have to marry in the other. But this rule is not rigidly followed now-a-days. The reasons for it are that the two moieties are not of equal strength and moreover in the inferior moiety the Chaithu phratry is nearly extinguished; so they have no alternative than to break the rigid rules of dual organisation.

There is no fixed age for marriage. A man may marry at any time of his life but marriage in childhood is very uncommon. Generally males marry between twenty-five to thirty years and females between sixteen to twenty years of age.

There are five kinds of marriage :—

(1) Mourhoi or Kanakanui (marriage by service).

(2) Arotpui (marriage by elopement).

(3) Dongmaru (marriage by capture).

(4) Mithai Juenoi (widow remarriage).

(5) Palai (mutual settlement to live with each other without any marriage ceremony).

(1) *Mourhoi or Kanakanui*.—This is the most general form of marriage amongst the Aimols. This type of marriage is generally arranged by the parents but the choice of the son is never ignored. Before marriage, mixing with the girls is freely allowed within the village and from this each chooses some particular girl for his future wife; but in olden times the parents' authority on the matter was supreme. When the boy is old enough to maintain a family, he intimates his intention to his parents. If there be no social difficulty to the union then the parents send two old ladies of the village with three pots of rice-beer to the house of the girl. There these persons discuss with her parents about the possibility of the union. If the girl's parents have no objection to the marriage then they drink the rice-beer with these ladies but if they have got any objection to the marriage then they never take the rice-beer brought from the house of the youngman's father. If the girl's parents desire the union then on an auspicious day the youngman is sent to the house of his future father-in-law with some of his friends. The friends are entertained by the village people and they leave him in that village. From that time onwards the youngman has to serve the family for three years. He is adopted as a member of the family and live in the same house with his future father-in-law. During this period he is allowed to mix with the girl and after one year's service they are even allowed to live in the same compartment (if in any case the girl becomes pregnant before the completion of the probationary period then the youngman returns to his village and the marriage is solemnised). When the period of service is complete the youngman returns to his family. Then the youngman's father sends some men to fix a date for the marriage and on that day these people pay the bride-price to the girl's father.

The bride-price (*mān*) which is paid to the girl's father is generally distributed among some near relatives. The most important of these persons is the mother's brother who has a special right to the '*mān*.' The bridgroom has to pay a special fee to the mother's brother excepting those paid to the bride's father. The sum is not fixed and is paid according to the means of the bridegroom. The bride-price generally consists of six rupees, six pots of *zu*, a plate, some ornaments and clothes and sometimes a gong.

If after three years of service in the bride's house, the bride's party objects to the union then the case is referred to the headman of the village who, after hearing the arguments of both the parties, generally orders the bride's party to arrange for the marriage or to pay a heavy compensation. If at the time of serving in the girl's house the youngman dies, then his father cannot claim any compensation; but if the girl dies then the youngman may choose the girl's younger sister (if she has any) and may get her in marriage only by a payment of some rupees or a gong or a number of *mithans*.

(2) *Arotpui.*—When a youngman and a girl are in love with each other and their parents do not like the union, then they arrange between themselves and one night slip away from the village. They go to some other village and live there as husband and wife. Ordinarily the youngman's parents bring them back and the youngman has to pay a fine of thirty rupees and a gong as the bride-price to the girl's father and five pots of *zu* and a pig to the village elders. The marriage ceremony is performed after their return.

(3) *Dongmaru.*—When after serving in the house of his future father-in-law for one or two years a young man is driven out by his future father-in-law without any grave offence, in that case and also in other cases too the youngman brings a number of his friends and takes the girl by force from her father's custody. The girl's father may complain to the headman but if the girl likes to stay with the youngman then the bride-price is paid and the girl is allowed to marry him. On the other hand if the girl does not like to live with him then he has to pay a heavy compensation and a fine to the girl's father and the village elders respectively. This type of marriage is very rare.

(4) *Mithai Juenoi.*—This form of marriage is solemnised without any ceremony. The widows, when they are young, are generally taken as wives by their husbands' younger brothers because in that case they are saved from the burden of serving in the house of the future fathers-in-law. In these cases no bride-price is paid but in other cases only some presents are given to the bride. In no case is serving necessary to remarry a widow.

(5) *Palai*.—This cannot be taken as a proper form of marriage as in this case no marriage ceremony is performed and the youngman and the girl simply live with each other without their parents' consent. A fine is imposed on the youngman by the girl's father for the loss of his daughter. Only one case of this type of marriage is recorded in Palail area but in Bishnupore area this type of marriage is unknown.

On the appointed day a party of men from the bridegroom's village goes to bring the bride. When the party reaches the bride's village, they are welcomed by the bride's party and a great feast is arranged in their honour. The house deity of the bride's father is worshipped by the priest for the welfare of the new pair. Then a hen is sacrificed with a *dao* with the following incantation:—

> " Pathian hai kamailajay,
> Naihi aneirang inkay,
> Arkahi changthiang dero.'

The meaning of the above is that the hen is going to be sacrificed for the happiness of the new pair to Pathian, the creator of the world.

When the throat of the hen is cut off it is thrown in the air and when it comes to the ground, the old men with the priest go near it to see whether the omen is good or bad. If the right foot of the hen crosses the left, then the omen is good and it is expected that the union will be a happy one ; but if the case is otherwise then the omen is bad and the pair after their marriage will have to offer a pig to the house deity for their welfare. When this is over then the girl with her lady-friends and other relatives are taken in procession with music and dancing towards the groom's village. Some domesticated animals, utensils and a basketful of paddy husked by the girl herself and some other presents are sent with the girl. When this party reaches the groom's village they are taken to the house of the groom's father. Here within the house a special seat is made for the groom. He sits on it in his best attire surrounded by his friends and girls of his own village. The bride is taken to the place by the girls of her own village and marriage songs are sung by both the parties together. After that the bride cooks the rice which she has brought with her from her house and then a dish containing various kinds of food with that rice is

presented before the couple and they eat together from the same plate and sometimes exchange food with each other. When this is over, the whole party is treated with a copious feast by the groom's father and the function is over. Henceforward the girl lives with her husband and never returns to her father's house.

Junior levirate is very common among these people. If after the death of the husband the girl has any unmarried husband's younger brother then she is generally bound to marry him and if he has got no objection then the marriage is solemnised only after three years of the death of her husband. This long term of abstinence puts great hardship on these people and so now-a-days they do not obey the rule and marry after a few months. If the younger brother does not like the union then she is free and she may marry any other person she likes but in this case she loses all claim to her husband's property. Widows are never married by their husbands' elder brothers.

Divorce.

Divorce can easily be obtained in the Aimol society yet the cases of divorce are very few. Adultery after marriage is an unusual happening though before marriage sexual license is never cared for. In the case of divorce the children always live with the father and the mother has no right even over the small baby. In the following cases divorce is allowed :—

(1) If any married woman runs away with a man then the first thing to be done by the husband is to ask her to return and if she refuses then the husband claims the whole bride-price from her father with a compensation When the whole amount is paid, the girl is free and she is allowed to live with her paramour.

(2) If the husband commits adultery with any woman and the wife knows it then she may bring charges of adultery against her husband to the village officers. If the offence is proved then the husband has to pay twenty rupees to the bride's father, a pig and five pots of rice-beer to the village officers. The wife is now at liberty to part with him or live with him again if he desires it.

(3) Impotency is an important ground for divorce.

(4) When a man and his wife are not in agreement with each other then they may mutually arrange for their divorce and no compensation is paid to any party.

(5) When a man wants to get rid of his wife then he has to summon the village council and has to show some reasonable grounds for divorce and if the opinion of the council is in favour of the divorce then the man has to pay fifty rupees to the girl's father and a pig and five pots of rice-beer to the village officers. The girl now leaves the custody of her husband and returns to her father's house and she is free to marry any other person without any social stigma on her.

Avoidance.

It is taboo to utter the name of father-in-law and mother-in-law. Generally a man does not even speak with them except only in serious occasions. It is not a social taboo to speak with them but it is a kind of reverence shown to them as it is still to be seen among the conservative Hindus. In the case of a woman also she cannot utter the names of her father-in-law, mother-in-law and her husband's elder brother. It is a social taboo to speak with her husband's elder brother and in case of breach she is reproached by the village elders but when necessity arises she may speak with her father-in-law and mother-in-law.

Death and Disposal of the Dead.

The idea of death is that the soul of the man leaves the body and therefore the man cannot rise again. In cases of illness they think that the soul is captured by some evil spirit and so they give some offerings to that spirit to release the soul. But in the case of death of an old man they say that the soul ('thabang') voluntarily leaves the body.

After the death the soul goes to the other world which, as they show, is in the air. There a village is formed named as 'Chomerang' where the souls of deceased persons who are buried in the village graveyard assemble. The persons who meet their death by accident are never allowed to enter this village and their souls roam about in the wilderness and become ghosts. The 'Chomerang' village has a

headman in whose presence all souls of the dead persons first come and he judges the conduct of each, when on earth. If in his opinion he is a good man then light work is allotted to his share and the man lives there in peace but if the case is reverse then the man has to do heavy work and live in misery. Their idea of that village is that the village is just like the one they are living in in this world. Some of the souls again after two or three generations leave the village and enter the womb of some lady of the village but they cannot correctly say about the return or non-return of these souls. In case of return which they recognise from the physical similarity of the new-born child with one of his ancestors, these souls never enter the womb of women of the same clan.

The method of disposal of the dead is elaborate. When a man of a village dies, the whole village is at 'genna,' that is, on that day all men remain within the village and suspend all their activities. What they have to do first is to inform all his near relatives and villagers. At this news all persons assemble at the house of the deceased person. The dead body is kept on the floor in the middle of the room surrounded by the female relatives of the deceased who are all mourning the loss. The male relatives and villagers go to bring some bamboos and from the splits of these a sheet ('chatai') six feet in length and three feet in breadth is made. Then the body is washed by water and is covered by a new piece of white cloth. Next the body is placed on the 'chatai' and is carried by the relatives or by the members of his own clan to the burial ground which is nearly a mile from the village.

The actual interment is very interesting. A circular hole is dug of about six feet in length and three feet in breadth and it is dug breast high. From its bottom on the south side a deep tunnel is dug which is enough to contain the whole body. The corpse is generally put in with the head to the north in the tunnel. In the hole itself some food for the dead consisting generally of rice-beer, cooked rice, meat and dry fish is placed, after which it is covered. Thus we have here what might be considered a prototype of subterranean burial with a second chamber for food for the spirit of the dead. This carries back to Egyptian 'mastabas' and 'holed dolmens' and it is worthwhile

considering whether this plain subterranean double-chambered interment is not the more primitive. The hole itself is covered up with the bamboo strips on which the corpse has been carried and a big terracotta rice-beer jar is generally placed on the top. On the left side of the hole a platform is raised on four bamboo sticks and wickerworks made over it. All the favourite articles of use, weapons and trophies of the deceased are placed on the platform which is called 'Koirang.'

When the disposal of the dead is finished the relatives and other persons who follow the dead to the burial ground wash themselves and return to the village. On their way home near the village gate a worship is arranged by the priest known as 'Shonkot Pathian.' This worship is performed in order to avoid the evil spirits who haunt the grave and may follow these persons to the village and may bring more calamities to the people. So on the path leading to the village a '*dao*' is placed with its sharp edge facing towards the burial ground and men who went to the graveyard, halt just in front of it. The priest then chants some incantations and beats lightly every person with the leaves of '*tumbel*' and '*numphiar*' (leaves of wild plants) as they cross the *dao*. The idea is that the progress of the evil spirit is retarded by the spirit of the implement.

After three days of the death 'Inn thir' (clearing of the house) is performed. On that occasion the house is swept clean and a hen is sacrificed in order to avoid the evil eye of the spirits. Some pots of *zu* are supplied to the villagers. On that day cooked rice, meat and rice-beer are placed on the burial mound of that person. After one year a ceremony is performed known as 'Leechaon' and on that occasion a pig or a *mithan* is sacrificed and a feast is arranged. Before the feasting some food are placed at the spot where the man is buried.

The death of any person from unnatural causes is taken as accidental and this type of death is much feared by the people. The death at childbirth or at war is also thought of as accidental death by the people. If a case of death by accident occurs within the village then the village men hurriedly bury the dead in a separate cemetery far away from the village. This place of burial is known as 'Sharlam.' Only rice, meat and drinking water are given with the dead. Rice-beer and other articles of daily use which are given in the case of natural death are never given in such a case. The whole village is at *genna* and the

youngmen of the village are never allowed to do any work for the burial of the dead. The old men of the village carry the body to the burial ground and inter it by digging a deep hole. After the burial they return to the village and all men stay in their houses till next morning. No 'Koirang' is made over the grave of the dead who meets his death by accident.

The next day the priest arranges a worship to drive away the evil spirit who has caused this misfortune. In the house of the deceased, a hen is sacrificed and the priest chants some incantations for the departure of the evil spirit. The village men are not allowed to go out of the village on that day.

When the news of an accidental death reaches another Aimol village the men of that village refrain from all sorts of activity on that day.

Sometimes even when the far-off villages hear of a case of accidental death after some weeks of the occurrence, they obey the old tradition and refrain from their activity for a whole day.

In the case of death of a village officer such as the headman or the second headman, the funeral rites are much more elaborate. In these cases coffins of wood are made. The body is carried by the other village officials and it is taken to 'Lamtol' (the ceremonial dancing ground of the village) where some flowers, water and other things are laid over the coffin and then it is taken to the burial ground. The interment is of the same type as in the case of natural death. Only two things are given extra in the case of high officials, one a drum and another a white cock which is strangled to death and hung on the 'Koirang.'

The men and women who meet their death by accident are supposed to become ghosts after death. These ghosts generally haunt the graveyard, the deserted places and marshy lands and when a man of the same clan as that of the ghost goes by that place he is frightened by them. The frightened persons appease the ghost by offering some food. Their idea of offering this food is that the ghosts cannot go to 'Chomerang' and so they are always in difficulty to get proper food and for want of this they frighten the clansmen and try to get food from them which they generally offer after their return. They cannot properly describe the form of these ghosts ; some men describe them as just like a shadow of a human being and their figures cannot properly be recognised.

Social Status Ceremony.

Feasts which are given by the rich man of the village to gain social distinction, are very common among the primitive tribes in Assam. The Nagas perform a number of ceremonies with feasts to attain social distinction. The Garos also perform the 'Gana Nokma' ceremony to attain it. The Kukis also perform some ceremonies to attain the status.

Among the Aimol Kukis there are three ceremonies—Lungkam, Khongtan and Tolaitan. These ceremonies are performed one after the other and the man who wants to get the greatest distinction has to perform all these ceremonies. To perform any of them is very costly and for that reason very few men can afford to perform them.

Before the ceremony on an appointed day all men assemble in the house of the rich man to discuss various important functions in connection with the ceremony. First a suitable day is fixed, then a man is elected who acts as the head in all functions of the day.

On the appointed day the rich man supplies one pig, one *mithan,* three cocks and a hundred pots of rice-beer. These things are taken by the 'Shersep,' the village officer in charge of these things and these things are prepared by the village cooks known as 'Tangba.' From the early morning the village drum-beater, known as 'Miralok,' comes and continually plays on his instrument and parties of young boys and girls flock to the spot and spend the whole day in music and dancing. Constant supply of rice-beer is made by the rich man throughout the day.

Feasts are generally made at noon and the villagers are sumptuously fed on each day with pigs and *mithans* which are killed on the occasion. The headman and the second headman never join in any of these ceremonies but on each day meat and rice-beer are sent to their houses.

The second and the third ceremony, known as 'Khongtan' and 'Tolaitan,' are performed in the same fashion as the first but in these cases feastings are elaborate and sometimes men from other villages are invited to join. After the performance of all these ceremonies, a stone platform is set up just outside the village gate by the village people to commemorate the feasts given by the rich man. This stone platform is also known as 'lungkam' and it is found in every village. The man who has performed all these ceremonies is sometimes elected

as the headman or the second headman of the village after the death of any of these officers.

Drum-making ceremony.—The ceremony in question is only performed by the rich men of the village because it entails great expenditure. Rich men who have performed all the ceremonies to attain superior positions in the society, are bound to perform it. Those who have not performed any other social status ceremony may also perform it.

The ceremony lasts for three days and all men of the village participate in it. During the continuance of the ceremony the whole village is at '*genna*,' but the villagers may go out of the village and bring things for the occasion. The first day is the day of preparation and on that day things which are necessary for the occasion, are collected. On the second day the drum-making is finished. On this day the village officers are carried by the villagers on a litter known as ' Tolai to Lamtol ' (the ceremonial ground of the village). Before the making of the drum a pig is sacrificed with the following incantation :—

" Ah-ha—Chung Pathian, Nui Pathian
Ninu thapa chingray damray;
Kachamala kanekmala
Kazu nechakro leinakoro
Karim narang kadamnarang
Negro chagro haiba."

The meaning of the above is:

Oh Sky-God, God of the underworld, sun and moon, be kind to us ; before us take food and give us long life and good food.

After the sacrifice the drum-making is started by the priest himself and then it is finished by other persons. Then a feast is arranged in the house of the rich man and the villagers are copiously fed by him.

The third day is the day of dance and music. On that day from the early morning bands of young men and women assemble at the house of the rich man and here they spend the whole day in music and dancing. The rich man in his turn supplies plenty of rice-beer to these persons.

DUAL ORGANISATION IN ASSAM

BY

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FOREWORD

The dual organisation is a riddle. It still awaits solution and the following additional original material from Assam has brought us no near to the solution. To the Indian Anthropologist the dual organisation may perhaps be of unique impor tance as throwing some light on the origins of caste system. The dual organisation, it now appears, was once widespread throughout India. The Hindu caste-system may be looked upon as essentially formed of two divisions one entitled to the use of the sacred thread—the twice-born 'Dwijas' and the Sudras. The former again is subdivided into a grouping of three functionally. These are, however, new rigid endogamous group but formerly inter-group marriages were not tabooed though arranged on a hypergamic principle. In Kulinism specially amongst the Kayasthas of Bengal we have the inferior moiety of the Moulik who are forced to marry only of the superior moiety of the Kulins who, however, may marry in their own groups as well as get their mates from the others. The Kulins again are subdivided either in groups of three or four family-groups. Amongst the Brahmins of Bengal in some parts we have the division into two moieties the superior Kulin and the inferior Srotriya. These await detailed local and genealogical studies. We do not know how far Mr. Karandikar[1] is right in denying the existence of exogamy amongst the early Aryan immigrants into India. Is it then possible that the exogamous caste-origination was an adaptation of an intrusive Aryan element to the dominant social culture-pattern of division into dual or tripartite family-groups or clans? This ought to be taken into consideration along

1 Karandikar—Hindu Exogamy, Bombay.

with Senart's theory of Proto-Aryan origin, Ibbetson's hypothesis of functional differentiation and occupational basis, Nesfield's theory of the formation of a hierarchy according to a cultural status and, last of all, Risley's pointing out of different ethnic strains. None of these lays any emphasis on the marriage functions of the caste and sub-caste groups. They explain the different elements and bring out to some extent the genesis of rank in the caste-system but they failed to explain why exogamy became a prominent feature. The conditions premised for India have also been gone through in almost all sites of ancient civilisation. But nowhere else except in Polynesia and India we have such a rigid crystalisation into family-groups arranged according to rank on a prominent exogamous basis. It is in both these areas that we find proofs of the previous existence of a widespread dual organisation submerged in a higher culture. Is it not then very likely that the dual organisation has played a very important rôle in the history of exogamy primarily and also of the caste-system ?

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DUAL ORGANISATION IN ASSAM

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The earliest phenomena of grouping amongst mankind have to be understood if mankind has to direct its course intelligently and not grope ahead. It is this that led Morgan [1] with his Victorian evolutionary outlook to search the steps that led to the foundation of human grouping—the family. But he did more, he discovered a technique of finding out from kinship terminology a method which still endures. And he has not ceased to dominate the practical thinking of the historical materialism of the communistic economists of to-day to whom the family is a passing phase in human development and a day will come when it will cease to exist.[2]

The foundations of Morgan have been successfully challenged by the psychological interpreters of social phenomena; thus Seligman [3] has sought to derive all the tendencies perceptible in marriage rules leading to class divisions from the psychological factors operating in the family and derived from incest avoidance combined with a sociological need of maintaining the integrity of family possessions and interests by laws of descent. Thus to Seligman a dual division, class system, and clan exogamy are

1 Lewis H. Morgan—Ancient Society, New York, 1907.

2 N. Bukharin—Historical Materialism, London, 1925.

" It seems reasonably to assume that communist society which will definitely abolish private property and the enslavement of women, will witness a disappearance both of prostitution and family."—p. 166.

3 B. Z. Seligman.—" Incest and Descent," J. R. A. I. (Jan.-June), 1928.

not pre-familial but later developments of the family itself. From another viewpoint also the basic fabric of Morgan has been shaken. His early antagonist McLennan[4] is of opinion that the primary function of dual division is marriage and he also pointed out that the classificatory system had been made too much of claiming that it had no relation to marriage rules, being only a style of speaking. Similarly, Kroeber[5] with his trenchant analysis challenges the idea of priority or succession of social systems from mere kinship terminology examining it in the light of eight categories which are shared by the primitive and the advanced people more or less.

So also Morgan's unilinear scheme of evolution of the family from a promiscuous grouping through a consanguine marriage and clan organisation type has been successfully challenged by the socio-cultural ethnologists. But some connection between the 'Bi-furcate merging system' of kinship terminology of the Dakota-Iroquois in America and the Tamil system in south India has been indicated to exist with clan exogamy.[6]

One of the primitive and early types of clan exogamy has been recognised as division of the tribe into dual or tripartite groups. Rivers[7] would hold the dual division a universal stage through which all mankind has passed. This is an exaggerated view. Standing midway between the evolutionary

[4] J. F. McLennan—Studies in Ancicut History, London, 1896. "That no duties or rights were connected with the relationships of the classificatory system, he concluded that the terms formed merely a code of courtesies and ceremonial addresses for special intercourse."

[5] A. L. Kroeber—J. R. A. I., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 77-84.

[6] R. H. Lowie—Hopi Kinship. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XXX, Part VII.

—Hopi clans—*Ibid.*, Part VI.

—Exogamy and the Classificatory System of Relationship. *American Anthropologist*. 1915, pp. 223-239.

W. H. R. Rivers—History of Melanesian Society, Vols. I and II, Cambridge, 1914.

[7b] W. H. R. Rivers—"Marriage" in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, VIII, 1915.

and the historical school Rivers tried to point out some connection between dual divison and cross-cousin marriage, claiming them to be co-existent. The extreme historical viewpoint of Perry [8] sees in dual organisation a socio-political system evolved in Egypt which diffused over the whole world with other Egyptian culture-traits. But he stands alone with the Manchester school in this viewpoint.

To the culture-strata school we owe the beginnings of the intensive study of the dual organisation in Oceania. But to Graebnar [9] it is only the culture-stage in Oceania which followed the culture-stages of the Tasmanian, the Australian boomerang and of the totemistic exogamic groups of spear-throwing culture to be succeeded in its turn by the Melanesian bow and arrow culture. But Graebnar's attempt at looking upon the Melanesian and the Australian system as linked is important and Deacon's[10] analysis of the Ambrym class organisation tends to strengthen that assumption. Radcliff Brown [11] goes further afield and sees a genetic connection in the kinship terminology of Australia and Melanesia with the Tamil system. However we may hold with Wissler,[12] "The dual organisation as important whenever and wherever it is associated with marriage and equally fundamental social functions."

The functional anthropological school into which R. Firth would place himself with Malinowski and others finds the functional associations of the kinship system to be more important. Firth [13] has quoted a line from the chapter on

8 W. J. Perry—Children of the Sun, London 2nd Edition, 1926.

9 F. Graebnar—Die Melanesische Bogenkultur, etc—*Anthropos*, 1909, pp. 726-780.

10 A. B. Deacon—The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym, J. R. A. I., Vol. LVII, p. 325.

11 A. R. Brown—*ibid.*, p. 343.

A. R. Brown—"Notes on the Social Organisation of Australian Tribes," J. R. A. I., Vol. XLIII, pp. 143-194.

12 C. Wissler—An introduction to Social Anthropology, New York, 1929, p. 141.

13 R. Firth—J. R. A. I., Vol. LX, p. 236.

Tikopia [14] that "According to the late Dr. Rivers, the marriage system in Tikopia is regulated entirely by kinship." Firth seems to have misunderstood this isolated statement and taking it out of the context has suggested that Rivers considered kinship system as determining partners in marriage. Firth has accordingly sought to prove the contrary view, *e.g.*, that kinship is dependent on marriage. He has stated that in Tikopia the influence of kinship "is seen as a purely negative principle prohibiting by custom the union of near kin; and even here, as the evidence will show, it has been disregarded on many occasions with impunity, with the infliction of no social penalty but that of mild scorn and amusement." [15] But later on, Firth admits that allusion to such marriages of near kin are held by the Tikopians to cause those persons " to quiver in shame " and that the parents of such pairs, after death, "do their ghostly utmost to prevent the raising of offspring." [16] It is clear from the paper that disregard of old customs at present is due to contact with modern civilisation.

Firth also overlooks the fact that Rivers has pointed out that the only regulations that affect marriage are the prohibitions of marriage with persons called *Kave* and also with the sister of the wife. These regulations are with regard to certain kin and are obviously negative in character, Rivers has added nothing which would show that he held that kinship regulations determined the partners in marriage in Tikopia.

It appears however from Firth's work that the restrictions with regard to *Kave* extend only to near relations and not to persons distantly related through the classificatory system, as stated by Rivers.

14 W. H. R. Rivers—*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

15 R. Firth—*op. cit.*, p. 238.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

Radin[17] also brings to the forefront the functions of the dual divisions in the tribe which he takes as his illustration.

In the following study the importance of Assam, full of primitive tribes with dual or tripartite divisions will come out. According to Hutton,[18] it is an area where "divisions within tribes vary sometimes dual sometimes triple." He emphasises the political exigencies that strengthened the dual organisation in the area. "The dual system has perhaps been intensified by the need in founding a new village for two exogamous clans to combine in order to provide each other with marriageable women and three group systems may have sometimes been produced by the fusion of conquering and conquered dualities, in which the superior conquered class has been identified and fused with the inferior of two classes of conquerors."[19] T. C. Hodson[20] with his ethnographic experience from the Assam area gives a valuable list of the tribes where dual division prevails but unfortunately his data are scanty. He has given us, however, a fuller list of the occurrence of the cross-cousin marriage[21] of both the symmetrical and asymmetrical types from Northern and Central India, thus supplementing the important work of Ghurye mainly studied with reference to South Indian data. Ghurye[22]

17 P. Radin—Social Anthropology, New York and London, 1932, pp. 54-55. "The Winnebago were divided into two social units, one called Wangergi or Those-who-are-above and the other Manegi or those-who-are-on-earth."............

"The primary function of these two divisions, often also called the Upper and the Lower, was that of regulating marriage, the members of the Upper division being compelled to marry individuals in the Lower and *vice versa*. Clan exogamy was simply a secondary consequence of this larger exogamy of the two major divisions."

"The two divisions also played a determining role in a number of social connections; first, in the organization of the village; second, in the arrangement of the clans while on the warpath; third, as the basis of organization of the feast for the tribal chief; and lastly, as the basis of the organization of the ceremonial lacrosse game."

18 J. H. Hutton—Census of India, Vol. III, Assam, p. XVIII, Appendix B, 1921.

19 J. H. Hutton.—'Races of further Asia,' *Man in India*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1932.

20 T. C. Hodson—Primitive Culture of India, London, 1922, pp 89-91.

21 T. C. Hodson—" Marriage of Cousins in India," *Man in India*, Vol. V, 1925.

22 G. S. Ghurye—" Dual organisation in India," J. R. A. I., Vol. LIII, 1923, pp. 79-91.

studied dual organisation though his attention was mostly directed to tracing it in connection with a classificatory system of terminology and cross-cousin marriage. Rivers [23] had long ago opened up the field with a classic paper on the cross-cousin marriage in India. According to F. J. Richards, [24] the cross-cousin marriage is a transitional system between the patrilineal and the matrilineal types in social organisation in South India not essentially connected with dual organisation. K. P. Chattopadhyay after a careful analysis of hypothetical forms of marriage arising out of culture-contact between different groups of patriarchal or matriarchal societies shows that dual organisation and cross-cousin marriage cannot go hand in hand though under certain conditions, the latter may arise out of the disintegration of the former. He has also laid stress on what he terms "household exogamy" in determining avoidance in marriage and origin of dual organisation with a superior and an inferior moiety.[25]

Coming now to Assam the following survey is offered after a fieldwork during 1931-34 and personal investigation of the dual organisation of the Anals, the Aimols, the Lamgangs, the Mantaks, the Marrings and the Memis. This has been collated with the data of the other tribes of Assam from published ethnographic monographs.

The tribes mentioned above have not yet been classified finally on the basis of physical features and cultural relation-

[23] W. H. R. Rivers—" Cross-cousin marriage in India, " *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1907, p. 623.

[24] F. J. Richards—"Cross Cousin Marriage in South India," *Man*, 1914, pp. 194-8, When Dravidian India passed from mother-right to father-right the practice of cross-cou in marriage arose as the result of a concession to the sentiments of the peoples connected to mother-right on the one hand and of the new-fangled ideas about property fostered by the introduction of father-right on the other.

[25] K. P. Chattopadhyay—" Contact of peoples as affecting marriage rules "—Presidential address, Indian Science Congress, Anthropology Section, 1931.

" Real cross-cousin marriage should be absent in a purely dual organisation. The cross-cousin marriage is remarkably absent in the islands of purely dual organisation, in the Banks New Hebrides and other groups of islands : it occurs only where there are additional groups."

ship. But Grierson's [26] Linguistic Survey has enabled us to find out their philological affinities.

Roughly speaking all the tribes under consideration are inhabitants of the hill tracts on the north-east frontiers of India from where the Himalayan branches spread their ramifications right up to Bay of Bengal. Thus they may be said to inhabit the borders of Chittagong, Assam, Burma and Tibet. Physically they are more or less Mongoloid in feature though it is rightly considered that the Mongoloid strain is rather recent and is overlaid on earlier Nēsiōt Pre-Dravidian and perhaps also Proto-Caucasic strains. Some of these types have also been recognised by Haddon [27] to be of a pronouncedly proto-morphic type. Thus physically most of these types represent very primitive elements whether Pre-Dradivian, Proto-Caucasic or Proto-Morphic Mongoloid. Linguistically all these tribes fall into North-Assam and the Assam-Burmese Branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages.

Of the five tribes of the North-Assam Branch we find dual organisation present amongst the Akas, the Abors, and the Miris.

The rest of the tribes under consideration fall mostly in the Assam-Burmese Branch. In this the Bodo group claims the dual Rabhas and the tripartite Garos. From the Naga group every sub-group shows some tribe with dual or tripartite divisions, *e.g.*, the Kabuis (Naga Bodo), the Angamis and the Westerm Rengmas (Western Naga), the Lhota (Central Naga), the Mikirs and the Marrings (Naga-kuki). The Kuki-Chin owing perhaps to having many colonists preserved in isolation in the strongholds of Manipur shows quite a large number of tribes with dual or tripartite organisations, all known as Old Kukis.

Most of these are spread more or less between the Barak and the Chindwin. As outliers may be considered the tripartite Kachins of Burma and the dual Ahoms of N. Assam.

[26] G. A. Grierson—Linguistic Survey of India, Vol, I, Part I.
[27] A. C. Haddon—The Races of Man, Cambridge, 1929, p. 116,

The Aimols.

The Aimols are a very primitive tribe only 500 in number in the Census[28] of 1931, living on both sides of the Logtak Lake in the Manipur State, a widely extended fertile valley cut off by hills on all sides through which runs old hill-paths from Assam to Burma. These tribes are spread in five villages one being the Kha Aimol (about 93·45 E. Long. and 24·35 N. Lat.) on the western side of the Logtak Lake, the five other village being situated more than sixty miles to the S. W. on the other side of the Lake. This single village cut off from the rest gave us a list of the complete number of sibs apportioned by two into the phratries, and the moieties. There are distinctly two moieties one superior and the other inferior each having two phratries and each phratry two patrilineal clans. Thus the list would appear :—

	Phratries.	Clans.*
I. Superior Moiety—		
	(1) Chonghom	(a) Khurching.
		(b) Khosir.
	(2) Chonghomlaita	(a) Sumbukpu.
		(b) Daraen.
II. Inferior Moiety—		
	(1) Lanoo	(a) Thimpoo.
		(b) Durnai.
	(2) Chaithu	(a) Lumdin.
		(b) Lusai.

But this system is in a complete process of disintegration. In the other five villages on the other side of the Lake, only three phratries are at present available and the last phratry of

[28] C. S, Mullan—Census Report (Assam), 1931, Part II—Tables ; Appendix I, p. 262.

* The term clan has been used here for want of any better substitute. These may be more properly described as family-groups functioning in some cases as 'marriage-class'

the inferior moiety the Chaithu has disappeared but its former existence there is undoubted. In the course of the collection of genealogies one of the men gave the information as being of the Chonghom Khurching (1st clan of the 1st phratry) and marrying in the same clan, which is impossible according to their own statements. The answer of the subject now very old after being closely cross-questioned about this marriage in his own clan cleared up a case of merging of clans and of adoption into clans. This old man stated that formerly he belonged to the Chaithu phratry and having been destitute of all relatives and brought up in his mother's phratry and clan he was subsequently given a girl from his mother's clan and he has adopted the phratry and clan of his wife. This is also interesting as the whole scheme is patrilineal and the clan is descended from the father to the son. Questioned about their group the phratry name is given first and then the name of the clan together as Chonghom (phratry) Khurching (clan) or Lanoo (phratry) Thimpoo (clan) and so on.

The cause of the breaking down of this dual organisation which at one time was very rigidly worked is not far to seek. The tribe is in a process of decay with decreasing number and are scattered in several villages far away from each other. In one of the villages there are only thirteen families while in another there are only seven. Besides the marriage rule is by service in the future father-in-law's house for three years. As the usual age for marriage is 25 to 30 and as by this time the individual has been already in charge of some fields and has to look over the fields of his father, he can hardly leave his own village and go over to another village to serve for his wife who has generally to be sought within the village and the rigid choice restriction to only clans of the other moiety is slackened. But in social and religious matters this dual division is rigidly observed.

In the superior half as we have already observed there is the Chonghom and Chonghomliata and in the inferior half

there is the Lanoo and Chaithu or only the Lanoo where the Chaithu group has disappeared. The social status of the superior moiety is recognised in all the important offices of the village. The headman (Tamshakai), the assistant headman (Yakosing), the priest (Khulpu) all could come only from the superior moiety. The groups of the inferior moiety were rigidly excluded from holding these or any office formerly. But now this rule has been somewhat slackened. Formerly the headman or chief in some village could be elected only from the particular Kosir clan of the Chonghom phratry as in the 'Kha Aimal' village but in the other villages only the Chonghom phratry could be eligible for a headman. In the Khulen and Khunjai villages some minor offices as 'Shumpur' and 'Tangba' who are the beadles under a superior officer for collecting money for ceremonial purposes are thrown open to the inferior groups. In 'Kha Aimal' village the post of the 'Meithei Lumbu' or interpreter with the State in Meithei language is now given to a Lanoo but this office defended on the knowledge of Meithei language and though now reckoned as a honourable post was surely introduced when the Aimols came to settle peacefully in the Meithei State and submitted to the State for protection and cannot be considered to have been an integral function of the society previousy.

In religious affairs this remarkable dual fissure of the society is still being adhered to. There is an annual festival in December and we have then the two parts of the Aimol society participating in two different functions centering curiously enough in two different gods. The name of the God of the superior moiety is known as Bungtay Pathian represented by some stones in the jungle in a small hut erected for the purpose. On the first day of the festival the priest of the superior moiety with some assistance would bring rice beer (*zu*), pigs, hens for sacrifice of which a portion would be kept for the deity and the rest would be taken back to the village. Only the members of the superior moiety would partake of

this meat and drink and for three days thence there would be dancing and music and festivities. The inferior moiety would be rigidly excluded from this but they would have their different function simultaneously at a different part. They would worship the Seeling Pathian when the other half was worshipping Bungtay Pathian. They would have their own priests and offer their own sacrifices which their group only would partake of and the music and the merry-making for three days as in the other case would also go on in their own group at the same time. Then these two groups worship two different deities and have two different ceremonies simultaneously without one part interfering with the other.

Then again there is another important deity or village godling worshipped just in the outskirts of the village in the month of *thamur* (July). This worship is looked upon as of special importance to ensure success in the field. Elaborate arrangements are made on the occasion of the worship of this deity. On that day the whole village is at *genna*, *i. e.*, no one is allowed to go outside the village and all work is suspended and no stranger is allowed to come in on that sacred or holy day. But the inferior moiety is never allowed to be present during the function which is performed solely by the superior moiety, the inferior group only gets a share of the offered sacrificial meat after the worship is over.

Thirdly, the Aimols have got a number of social status ceremonies. Any body who has accumulated sufficient riches may perform any of these ceremonies and attain a superior position within the society. But while the individuals of the superior moiety have got this right none of the members of the inferior moiety is allowed this privilege even if he has sufficient wealth.

Fourthly, of the fifty three marriages which we get, in the genealogical tables forty-three of them are between the members of the two moieties and only ten marriages are performed within the moiety. From this it follows that they try to avoid marrying within the moiety.

Lastly, the group solidarity and privileges of the superior moiety are such that they have resisted all efforts at conversion and it is only the inferior moiety who could be converted because they had an inherent inferior social status which they tried to change by adopting the religion of the British people.[29]

The Anals.

The Anals may be taken as possessing a typical dual organisation in the area. They are now spread over sixteen villages in the south-eastern part of the Manipur State. Their total strength is 2,497 (1.243 males, 1,254 females).[30] They live far away from Imphal, the civilization centre in Manipur and they are still in a more or less primitive hunter agriculturist state though the Manipur plough-culture is slightly penetrating into their semi-wild rice-jhumming culture. They still retain the pile-dwellings which they erect on the slopes of the hills which often give place to the mud-platform whenever the tribes come under the influence of the more settled lives of the plains. Their villages are still more or less self-contained economic unit.

Thus naturally pure form of dual organisation still survives there. The whole tribe is divided into two moieties—the Murchel and the Murshom. The former is recognised as the superior and the latter inferior. The headman comes from the superior moiety.

Our informants came from Phiron khulen, Lambung khunou, Bero and Tharchangkhul and gave us the list of clans as follows :—

I. Superior moiety :

Murchel—

Clans— (*a*) Hausuiay

(*b*) Pahangtay

[29] J. K. Bose—Social Organisation of the Aimol Kukis, Journal of the Department of letters, Vol. XXV, Calcutta University, 1934.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 262, I.

(c) Khulangtay
(d) Lashatay
(e) Shingortay
(f) Nerlatay
(g) Hoatentay
(h) Tongshintay

II. Inferior Moiety :
Murshom—

Clans—
(a) Sendrung
(b) Habung
(c) Poserthing
(d) Shertumtay
(e) Langhutay
(f) Londertay
(g) Sumpitay
(h) Londaltay (?)

The characteristic trait of dual division is still preserved, as one has to find one's mate from the other moiety—clans of the same moiety being strictly forbidden to intermarry. Of the genealogical tables taken by us not a single case of marriage within the moiety could be found.

There is a remarkable paucity of kinship terms, the Anals having only ten terms as contrasted with the Aimols [31] who have twenty terms. Several cases of cross-cousin marriages with mother's brother's daughter are found.

The numerical strength of the Anals and their social organisation offers a remarkable contrast to the Aimol type which apparently started with two moieties and developed into eight sub-divisions through four phratries and is now on the way to disintegration into a tribe with some exogamous units. The Anal type seems to have retained the names of the two divisions or moieties with which the system started. The clans seem to be later additions when the original division into two moieties had already become rigid and admitted

[31] J. K. Bose—Social Organisation of the Aimol Kukis, Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University Vol. XXV, 1934.

of no development by fission. This would mean that the division into Murchel and Murshom was just the primitive dual proto-type which alone has been retained. New peoples who were absorbed into the tribe would survive as clans and the clans would naturally grouped in either the one or the other moiety.

The Mantaks.

In contrast to the growing Anals, the Mantaks are a dwindling group. Our group came from a small locality near Kakching who informed us of the existence of another village of the tribe near Shugnoo. But the Census Report of 1921 and 1931 have already lost sight of them though Grierson[32] mentioning them as a separate linguistic group would find no peoples against their name. We came across about twenty-one households in a village who called themselves 'Mantak koms.' It is possible that they are in the process of merging into the bigger group of Koms who are now well-nigh three thousands in number.

They are now in a process of disintegration but still retain a superior and inferior moiety which are divided as follows :—

I. Superior Moiety—
(a) phratries— 1. Lainon
2. Mangli.

II. Inferior Moiety—
(b) phratries— 1. Mirim
2. Chongthu.

In former times the general rule was that all village officers were elected from the superior group. But now-a-days with decreasing number they cannot rigidly maintain this idea and under these circumstances they are bound to modify their former law. The headman and the priest who are the two most important posts of the village are still reserved for the superior moiety. In the Mantak village near

32 G. A. Grierson—*op. cit.*

Kakching we found that the headman and the priest belong to the superior moiety of Laiwon and Mangti respectively. But the post of the second headman and some other posts of inferior rank are thrown open to the inferior moiety.

Of the thirty-three marriages which we have recorded in our genealogical tables twenty-five of them are between the two moieties and only in eight cases there are some irregularities. As the tribe is in a process of disintegration so they are bound to modify some of the rigid rules of social organisation. In the case of marriage my informants (the headman, the second headman, the priest and other old men of the village) also told me that now-a-days they even allow the young men of their village to marry girls of other Kuki tribes because they have not sufficient marriageable girls within the village. This type of adoption of different members into their own society is not unusual in this area. Among the Kabuis[33] and the Chothes[34] we found instances of this type.

Thus the Mantak type shows a dual division in which the two moieties have developed into four phratries. Standing midway between the Anal type of two moieties only and the Aimol type of two moieties, four phratries and eight clans. It is quite apparent that as soon as the tribe begins to dwindle, the sub-divisioning stops, with the increase in number and prosperity we may have a development by fissure in the orthodox Aimol fashion or retention of primitive proto-type in the Anal way.

The Lamgangs.

The Lamgangs are also another old Kuki tribe settled in isolated villages which often elude the eyes of the State Officers. Thus the Census figures for their total strength as 136 (1911), 744 (1921), 1206 (1931) do not indicate a growing population but gradually more complete recurrence. This shows how

33 J. K. Bose—'Notes on the Kabuis,' *Current Science*, June, 1933.

34 J. K. Bose—'Notes on the Chothes,' *Current Science*, September, 1933.

these peoples living segregated in hill fastnesses have so little to do with the civilisation even at the feudatory Methei State. One of the villages which we visited in 1932 was situated in gorgeous isolation about thirteen miles from Palail which latter had 28 miles between itself and Imphal civilisation. It is a typical village of the primitive tribes of this area showing how Manipur had afforded them an ideal isolation for hundreds of years. For such necessities of life as salt, not obtainable locally, it meant a continuous trek from early morning to sunset to and from the nearest bazaar. For us it was more than an hour's panting trot up the hills from the last village we left and after our rest it was again a full two hours' march before we came up the next one. Thus each village rests in security in the isolation of hill-tops or slopes with a few hamlets and a mile or two of marching radius of segregation around. So each tribe has been able to maintain, develop and crystallise its own social system and this explains the varieties of the dual organisation met with in this area. Moreover generally speaking the higher the altitude in which a tribe was found the more primitive was its mateiial culture. The more in contact it had come with civilisation the greater had been its tendency to move to the foot of the hills. Thus the Lamgangs were mostly perched on hill-tops while the Aimols near Palail though not having actually come down to the plains, now prefer the slopes at the foot of the hills.

As the Anals when questioned about his 'Jati' (caste, clan or group) come forward with the name of the two divisions which was uppermost in his mind and the information about the clans could be elucidated only by close cross-examinations. In the case of the Lamgangs the first answer in the course of the genealogical investigations brought forth only a list of eight exogamous clans. The function of these clans, however, showed clearly that there was a grouping in two moieties with four clans in each section as follows:—

I. Superior Moiety—

Clans—

(a) Kangtel
(b) Sankhil
(c) Thlungba
(d) Jangoi

II. Inferior Moiety—

Clans—

(a) Dilbung
(b) Laiwon
(c) Kholar
(d) Sesipa or Salshi

The headman of the tribe must belong to Kangtel or Jangoi. On ceremonial occasions a man from Thlungba becomes Khulpu (priest) and men of the four superior clans drink before the rest. One of the functions of dual organisation is not only division into two ranks but there is a tendency to arrange the superior moiety into a sort of hierarchy. The distinctive first place always pointed out by these tribes in Meithei Language as 'Ningthouga '[35a] or royal clan and another one generally the second or third reserved for the priest. Often as amongst the Aimols all the important officers including also the assistant headman and the assistant priests come from the superior moiety but amongst the Mantaks as we saw the headman came from the superior and the assistant headman came from the inferior moiety. This may be due to the disintegration of the functional attributes of the dual grouping amongst the latter.

Amongst the Lamgangs as our genealogical tables show, the rigidity of the marriage rules forcing one moiety to seek partners in the other has been relaxed.

The Lontes.

The Lontes "have two and only two exogamous divisions—Lanu and Chonghom and we are told that a Lonte girl's proper husband is her maternal first cousin."[35b]

35a T. C. Hodson—The Meitheis, London, 1908, p. 73.
35b T. C. Hodson—Primitive Culture of India, London, 1922, p. 89.

The dual division of the Kolhans—a Kuki tribe, can easily be understood from the description of the "Keidun" festival by Col. Shakespear. "At the time of the festival the whole village is divided into two parties for the tug-of-war. On one side are all the youngmen of the Khullakpa's family, *viz.*, the Chongthu, and on the other those of the Jete, to which the Luklakpa belongs. With the Chongthu pull the youngmen of the following families—Tulthung, Maite, Tainte, Laishel, Songchungnung, while with the Jete are associated the youngmen of the Lunglai, Rembual, Mirem, Tumlin and Vanbie. The girls of each family pull on the opposite side to the young men of their family.........Marriages are only allowed between the young people who pull on the same side with the exception of the Chongthu who, being of the chief's family, may marry a girl of any family except their own."[36] Thus here we have division of the tribe into two groups which might be called moieties and the distinct two-fold grouping in ceremonial functions as well as for marriage purposes in general with the exception that the group to which the chief belongs has privileges similar to that possessed by hypergamous groups like the Kulins in Hindu society.

The Kolhans.

Among the Lushei Kukis Shakespear remarks that "A higher clansman is contaminated by a clansman using his comb. That Renthlei may not use a Sailor's hair comb and a Chawngthu may not use that of Pallian."[37]

The Lushei Kukis.

The Raltes have two "mythical ancestors Hehua and Leplupi. Their two sons were Kheltea and Siakenga, who quarrelled over the distribution of their father's goods, which Kheltea, the younger, had taken .... and set up separate villages and from

The Raltes.

[36] Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear—The Lushei-Kuki Clans, London, 1912, p. 167. In this instance we find the function of participation in sports on the basis of dual organisation figuring prominently.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

them have sprung the two eponymous families into which the Ralte clan is divided." [38]

In the old account of Soppitt [39] another Old Kuki tribe the Rangkhols are mentioned as identical with what he calls Langrons. He thinks that the term 'Rangkol' stands for Old Kukis and Biete for New Kukis.

The Rangkhols.

About the former a very interesting fact is mentioned which would have strengthened the position of Rivers ascribing the dual organisation to the contact of distinctly two cultural elements. Nothing is more conservative amongst a people than rites for the dead. Soppitt describes the division of the Rangkols into two groups one practising burning and the other Jansel practising burial. If this be true we have here definitely two strands of culture meeting in the same area comparable to the early migrants in Melanesia one aboriginal and the other burying their dead in a sitting posture followed by the *kava*-users or betel-eaters and cremation practitioners. [40]

Similarly, Mills has left on record the clan grouping of the Bietes into two distinct groups. Among the Biete Kukis of the North Cachar Hills "there are four clans—Chungal or Nampui, Darnei or Thanglai, Ngamlai and Kiete .... Marriages between members of the Chungal and Darnei clans are common and these two clans less frequently intermarry with the other two clans." [41]

The Biete Kukis.

Among the Thados "the four main families are the Dongel, Shil-hloh, Haukip and Kipgen. The Dongel are descended from Thado's elder brother and therefore are rather considered superior to the

The Thados.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

39 C. A. Soppitt—A short account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes on the North-East Frontier, Shillong, 1884.

40 W. H. R. Rives—History of Melanesian Society, Vol. II, Cambridge, 1914.

41 Census Report—Assam, 1931, Part I, Appendix B, p. viii.

rest."[42] Not only is descent considered as the distinguishing criteria for the superior and inferior position of the groups, there is a similar disparity observed in the performance of the religious ceremonies as noticed amongst the Aimols. Thus in the course of the "Daihawl sacrifice" the Dongel and Shil-hloh sacrifice a sow to Lakhua, but the Haukip and Kipgen kill a mithan.[43]

The Angami Nagas.

Passing on now to tribes known as the Nagas we find some traces of dual division. The Angami race "is believed to be descended from two men, sometimes described as brothers (or cousins) who came up out of the earth.............From the elder of these two sprung the division of the Angamis known as the Kepezema (kepepoma) and from the younger the other, kepepfüma (kepepvuma)."[44] In the course of the performance of the "Derochü genna," "A pig is killed and two chaste unmarried boys, one a Pezoma and the other a Pepfüma, are sent to the Jungle"[45]—thus clearly recognising the two divisions in religious ceremonies and the dual offerings to the superior beings.

The Mao Nagas.

Working amongst the Mao Nagas in the villages of Sungsung, Robonamai and Kalinamai, 28 miles from Kohima personally we found two divisions, one the upper khel and the other the lower khel. Hodson has remarked that "in the village of Liyai in the Mao group, we have two pairs of exogamous divisions with a prohibition against the intermarriage of the two members of the paired clan. The Mao group is internally divided into two groups, the cause of their separation being according to tradition religious rather than social. The groups intermarry, it is true, but not to any great extent."[46] Hutton also points out "At Mao each village has a different system.

[42] Lt. Col. J. Shakespear—The Lushei-Kuki Clans, London, 1912, p. 190.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[44] J. H. Hutton—The Angami Nagas, London, 1921, p. 110.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[46] T. C. Hodson—The Naga Tribes of Manipur, London, 1911, p. 74.

Shongshon has 4 khels grouped into two exogamous pairs. Kalanamei has 6 khels, 1 and 2 form an exogamous group and 4, 5 and 6 another; number 3 intermarries with both groups. The other 3 villages are divided into khels which are exogamous but are not grouped." [47]

According to the valuable information supplied to us,[48] Mao tradition states that after the origin from the 'Maikel' stone (a type of belief general amongst the northern Nagas), settling in the original village of Makhremei they divided into two sections—the Imellarie (the high-level people) and the Punnemei (the low-level people). From the first grows two villages and the second eleven villages. It is very hard to come to any conclusion without having data of our own. But from the informations of Hutton, Hodson and Das, it is a likely conjecture that dual organisation in pure form is to be found amongst the Mao Nagas. What is remarkable, we found that cross-cousin marriage is not practised amongst them though the kinship terminology suggests the existence of this institution.

The Marams.

"Maram has 3 khels which are exogamous and two of them form an exogamous group. In all cases where there are groups the reason for not marrying in the group is stated to be that the khels forming the group are descended from brothers." [49]

The Kabuis.

The Kabuis are a very numerous group of Nagas allied linguistically also to the Bodo group. They are scattered over the various disjointed tracts of Manipur forming in some places a distinct entity with one or two houses only but generally lived in densely populated villages. Their total strength is above 18,000 and that they are very active and alert in tribal life is

[47] J. H. Hutton—*op. cit.*, p. 117.

[48] Thanks are due to P. K. Das, Post Master of Mao, who has collected extensive field notes on the social organisation and religious beliefs of the Maos and helped us in taking some notes and measurements amongst the tribe.

[49] J. H. Hutton—The Angami Nagas, London, 1921, p. 117.

to be inferred from recent revivalist semi-political, semi-mystic rebellious movement amongst them. Each locality seems to afford different list of clans. In the villages visited by us near Bishnupore, we find a definite clan organisation with distinct tripartite divisions. On the other hand, near Imphal in the villages of Chingmaro, Langthapan, Chingthack, etc., we got some of the clan names but no system of clan-grouping could be found. The earlier accounts about them naturally vary. McCulloch[50] writing in 1859 definitely found dual division among them. "In appearance, manners and customs there is no essential difference between the two divisions of the Koupooes, the Songboos and the Pooeerons but though so much alike in these respects, between their languages there is a great difference, so great indeed that when they wish to communicate with one another they have to resort to the language of Munnipore." On the other hand Brown[51] writing in 1873 points out the tripartite divisions amongst them. "The Kowpoi tribe have amongst them the following sub-divisions : 1. Sungbu, 2. Koiveng, 3. Kowpoi." Hodson[52] seems to have followed McCulloch and ascribed to them a dual organisation. Another writer[53] states that there are said to be three great clans of Kaupuis, namely, 1. Sungbu, 2. Koiveng, 3. Kaupuis.

The Western Rengma Nagas.

Amongst the Western Rengma Nagas "the tribe is divided into a Southern and Northern group, speaking different dialects. The groups intermarry."[54]

The Marrings.

The Marrings have been a baffling lot since the days of Dr. R. Brown who brought them under notice. He says, "the Hirok range of Hills

[50] Major M. McCulloch—Account of the valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes with a comparative vocabulary of the Munnipore and other languages, Calcutta, 1859, p. 54.

[51] R. Brown—Statistical Account of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its rule. Calcutta, 1853, p. 22.

[52] T. C. Hodson—The Naga Tribes of Manipur, London, 1911.

[53] Dr. G. Watt—J. R. A. I., Vol. XVI, p. 346.

[54] J. P. Mills—The Western Rengma Nagas, Census Report, Assam, Part I, Appendix B, p. vi.

which separates Manipur from Burmah is inhabited chiefly by three tribes—to the south and east various clans of Maring Nagas, a race, however, differing essentially from the Nagas, to the north in their facial and other characteristics,......and a few Kukis, branches of the great tribe of Khongjais.''[55] Grierson [56] has tried to avoid the difficulty by putting them midway between the Nagas and the Kukis. Physically and culturally also they offer remarkable contrast to both the groups. Moreover their dual organisation is of unique type. Hitherto we have seen that Kinship has been the basis of the dual divisioning of the Kuki tribes. But the territorial principle which appears as a trace amongst the western Rengmas acts as a vital factor in the dual divisioning of the Marrings whereas amongst the former there is an explicit mention of the people of the north and south who however intermarry. We have amongst the latter two strictly endogamous groups (comparable to the Tartharol and the Teivaliol of the Todas)[57] not distinguished by any geographical names but none the less standing out by distinct features of dress whom we may thus call the red border and the black border people. This is not to be confessed with the still bigger divisioning of these peoples into two. The elder branch is called 'Khoibu' (written as Saibu by Hodson [58] and earlier writers) by the Meitheis but their own name for themselves is 'Uipo.' The younger branch is Marring. These are two strictly endogamous groups and though possessing the same material culture and sharing identical religious beliefs they do not understand each other's language but communicate between them through the Meithei *lingua*

55 J. K Bose—The Marrings of Manipur, *Calcutta Review*, April, 1934.
R. Brown—*op. cit.*, p. 15.
Ibid.. p. 69.

56 Grierson—*op. cit.*

57 W. H. R. Rivers—The Todas, London, 1906, p. 34.

58 T. C. Hodson—The Naga Tribes of Manipur, London, 1911, p. 75.

franca. The elder branch is much smaller numerically, being nearer to Manipur culture has been considerably influenced by it. The younger branch is spread over about twelve villages far away from Imphal right up to the confines of Burma maintaining more or less its primitive integrity. Both these groups are counted together in the Census Report as Marrings, totalling 2.674 (1911), 2,355 (1921) and 4,228 (1931). Thus they are still a prosperous lot. Thanks perhaps to their extensive trade in basketry which is much in demand in Manipur bazaars.

We are fortunate in getting the help of a very old federal headman (Chingsanglakpa) Koba of Khudei Khulen who is a sort of oracle of old traditions to the people themselves. According to his information the whole society is divided into four divisions, the foremost of which the Khulpua, the second Dangsoa, the third Kansoa and the fourth Koninga. Each of these again have two more clans appended to it which are sometimes spoken of as descendants of the former. Thus in the case of the Khulpua clan his eldest son is said to have started the Lamthaka group and the youngest the Cheranga ; group this tradition is also mentioned about the Dangsoa but not about the third or the fourth. If the same principle had been operating we find thus the primary division into Khoibu and Marring and then the secondary division of the Marrings into four main groups and then a tertiary sub-division resulting in four groups with three clans as follows :—

A. Khoibu.

B. Marring.

Group I. (*a*) Khulpua.
(*b*) Lamthaka.
(*c*) Cheranga or Tranga.

Or

Khulpua
Lamthaka — Cheranga or Tranga

Group II. (a) Dangsoa
(b) Yupalam
(c) Naotalam

Or

Dangsoa
|
Yupalam | Naotalam

Group III. (a) Kansoa or Yunglama
(b) Tantanga
(c) Hloa

Group IV. (a) Kaninga
(b) Konga
(c) Koa or Mokunga.

This division is entirely on kinship basis and perhaps is important in social functions. But there is also the distinct territorial division working still side by side which is more important in its political and administrative functions. The Marring villages are grouped into one set of seven and a second of five. Each of these sets of federated villages is under a distinct Chingsanglakpa—Koba Chingsanglakpa and Moba Chingsanglakpa. The villages under Koba wear red border and those under Moba black border. This grouping originated perhaps from two rival factions and subsequently took over the marital functions of the Kinship groups prohibiting intermarriage between the two.

The Chingsanglakpa is an elected post in contrast to the hereditary priest and headman who came from Khulpua and Dongsoa clans respectively. In contrast to the Aimol and other Kuki tribes the foremost position is given not to the headman but to the priest and as a consequence the priest's and the chieftain's clans are first and second. The Chingsanglakpa is on the highway on the formation of a political chief and the elective principle brings the most capable man at the helm of affairs. Old Manipur records [59] state that in

59 R. Brown—*op. cit.*, p. 44, Calcutta, 1873.

"About thirty-two years ago, when Nursing was raja, they were oppressed and ill-treated by the Manipuris, which caused them to leave their country and take refuge in Burma, but lately they are returning, the policy of the Manipur Government being changed in regard to them, and the Kubo valley, towards which the majority had fled, being to them

the reign of King Nursing, the Marrings were much oppressed and driven out to Burma where they had to meet equally implicable force. This perhaps led them to form into a federated political band which became two units either as a result of two different migrations or in consequence of the adaptation of the political system in imitation of the culture-pattern of social grouping by twos.

The tribes of North Assam near the Sadiya Frontier, from the meagre notices about them, quoted below, seemed also to possess some form of dual organisation.

The Abors.

The Abors have got " divisions into *mipak* and *misshing*. Among the Pasi, Padam and Minyong tribes there is no division into classes with a definite social order of precedence by clan; but every member is either 'mipak' or 'misshing,' *i.e.*, considered out-cast or not. A misshing is free to marry a mipak but this is not generally done, if the fact is known."[60] On the other hand, one of the divisions of tribes has been noticed to possess dual division according to another authority. " The Minyong Abors are divided into Kuri and Kumming descended from two brothers."[61]

The Miris of Sadiya Frontier.

Amongst the Miris of Sadiya Frontier tract there are four big clans. Two of these are descended from the hills not many generations ago, but many are escaped or driven out slaves of the Abors "......... " these big clans are divided into smaller exogamous clans kept as distinct as possible, but of late years there has been much intermarrying and relationships have become involved." [62]

The Miris of Lakhimpur.

The Miris of Lakhimpur District "may be grouped into two exogamous divisions composed of several clans :—1. The Chutia (Dhole,

unhealthy, and the measures of the Burmese being also oppressive, they are coming back in numbers."

60 Census of India, 1921, Vol III, Assam, p. xiii.

61 Sir G. Duff. Sutherland-Dunbar—Abors and Galongs, Mem. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, Vol V (extra number), p. 9.

62 Census of India, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

Pegu, etc.), 2. Aingiya (Taoit, etc), Mayangiya (Nara, etc.) and others."[63]

The Akas.

"Among the Akas there are two main clans Kutsun, Kanatsun and these contain several other sub-clans."[64]

The Mikirs.

The Mikirs are divided into four 'Kurs' or groups. These "Kurs cannot marry within the group......... They may however marry their first cousin on the mother's side and indeed this appears to have been formerly the usual match."[65]

The Ahoms.

The Ahoms trace their descent from the two brothers, Khumling and Khunlai.[66]

Before concluding we have to point out very briefly here and reserve for a later fuller treatment the tripartite divisions amongst such old Kuki tribes as the Chothes, Chirus, Purums and Taraos about whom extensive data have been gleaned in the field. Still more interesting and in certain ways fundamental is the study of the matrilineal tribes of Assam amongst whom dual or tripartite divisions have been reported as follows :—

The Dahurias,

"The Dahurias, who have two subsections live interspersed among the Rangdanians, but have a lower social position."[67]

The Khasi.

"There are among the Khasia state which have two chiefs, a white and a black siem, and examination of the terms of relationship and the present conditions and prohibitions affecting marriage among the Khasias has led me to the opinion that the Khasias were at one time organised on a dual basis. When this social scheme was broken up either by internal growth or by external forces bringing in strangers as rulers, certain modifications were then effected which find preservation in the terms of relationship

63 Ibid., p. xi. 64 Ibid., p. x.

65 E. Stack and Lyall—The Mikirs, London, 1908, p. 16.

66 P. R. T. Gurdon—Short note on the Ahoms, p. 6.

67 Census of India, 1921, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

and in the new regulations prohibiting or restraining marriages on which the old order rested."[68]

The Garos "are divided into two Katchis or Phratries, called Marak and Sangma (one of them has a third called Momin)." [69]

The Garos.

We have been able to complete the investigation of the social system of the Garos, specially amongst the Abengs, the Atongs and the Ganchings in southern central part of the Garo Hills. The Garos, as far as our informations show, definitely possess a tripartite system instead of a dual which Hodson[70] ascribes to them on the authority of the Census Report of 1911.

Our study of dual organisation in the area cannot be said to be complete. We have felt in every case where we have to rely on earlier authorities that a re-examination of the data with the modern outlook is necessary in the field. We have also felt that a large number of tribes do not find mention simply because they have not been investigated from this standpoint.

On the other hand, one thing seems clear. We have in Assam definite forms of dual organisation or tripartite segmentation of various types and in various stages in stagnation or on the way of disintegration. Certain informations were obtained also about the formation of new exogamous groups. Thus Assam is likely to prove as interesting a field for the study of formation of early stages of society as Australia or Melanesia. We have here all types from the two class Anals, the four class Mantaks and the eight class Lamgangs and Aimols.

The functions served by these groups and the principles operating in different cases afforded interesting clues. Yet we are far off from the baffling question of origins of such a

[68] T. C. Hodson—Primitive Culture of India, London, 1922, pp. 90 91.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

system found in a bewildering variety and yet similar patterns in such widely separated tracts as Assam, Oceania or aboriginal America. The question is indeed vitally linked up with the classificatory system which we mean to analyse in a subsequent paper.

How far the two-class-system is intended to bar the marriage with brothers and sisters and the four-class-system brings about in additional prohibition of marriage with parent and children and the eight-class-system extends the prohibition further of marriage of a man's children with his sister's children as Frazer [71] tries to deduce, can best be decided on analysis of the kinship terminology of this area. Further enquiry is also required for the informations whether these moiety divisions entail along with them a different set of terms of address or different rights of participating in a venging head-hunting expeditions as amongst the New Guinea Cannibals.[72]

I am indebted to Dr. P. Mitra and Mr. K. P. Chattopadhay for their constant encouragement and guidance. My best thanks are also due to my friends, Messrs. J. K. Gan, S. Singh and P. C. Biswas of the Anthropological Laboratory, Calcutta University, for their valuable assistance.

[71] Sir J. G. Frazer--Totemism and Exogamy.

[72] C. G. Seligman--Melanesians of British New Guinea, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 557, 435 and 10.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLOUGH

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PREFACE

Since the days of Tylor's classic essay "On the Origin of the Plough and Wheel Carriage" (J. A. I., Vol. X, pp. 74-84) a proper understanding of the genesis of the plough is becoming more and more important. For with it hangs the questions of origins of Indian civilisation and perhaps of all the fundamentals of the old-world culture with it cattle-cereals-wheel-plough complex as is nicely put by Wissler. Hahn writing in days previous to the discovery of the Indus Valley cultures of the 3rd millennium B. C. takes the whole gamut of invention to Babylon adding to them a very important trait, the calender-system. Tylor himself drew attention to the beautiful legend of 'Sita' born of the furrowed ground, she herself being the furrow personified. He also mentions the Vedic legend of the Asvins having taught it to Manu and the Egyptians ascribing the invention to Osiris.

It is one of the causes of the geographical cultural school that in the culture-centre we get almost the entire series from the most primitive to the latest evolved type. It is interesting to observe that the digging-stick still survives in India especially amongst

the primitive peoples, one being obtained from the Sauria Paharias near Rajmahal in Northern India by our research student P. C. Biswas, M.Sc. In the South also, the simple pointed stake is referred to as being in use amongst the Kurubas, showing that the possible wider use of the digging-stick all over India. Similarly the two-pointed wooden staff is mentioned as being in use amongst ths Bodos and Dhimals of N. E. India. Another series of inventions that led to the plough is connected with the history of the hoe. The hoe had a remarkable history in the Assam area and almost all stages from the twined bamboo to the hoe made of iron being traceable. The predecessors of the iron hoe in stone in the form of shouldered celts or spade celts are the typical neoliths of Santhal Parganas, Assam and still further afield. The Egyptian plough in its origin was a hoe drawn through the ground. The lunette-edged prominently shouldered neolithic pieces and specially the copper-pieces from early Egypt, Susa and other early Copper Age sites now appear in this light to have most properly served as hoes. So also would be the numerous lunette-edged 'celts' found from Gungeria in Central Provinces in India.

But there is also a third line of development in the genesis of the plough. Pitt-Rivers, though it is now the fashion to discredit him, had in his plate showing the development of the club, connected the simple clubs, mace-clubs, boomerangs and the 'leangle' (Indian plough) as divergent ends of different series starting from the club. This would connect the plough genetically with a weapon and in its bent nature would make it akin to the boomerang. It is curious that in Indian epic legends we have the culture hero of the plough as the elder brother of the culture hero of the wheel. Their scenes of activities are in the region of Gujerat (Dvārakā) where boomerang still occurs. The plough culture here Valarāma is spoken of as Halāyudha having the plough as his weapon. The wheel-culture-hero is the well-known Krishna who later on figures as the central figure so to say of the Mahābhārata war traditionally said to have been

fought in the beginning of the Kali era which according to Kashmir records began in 3102 B.C. In any case the Indus Valley cultures show the wheel and the plough in full use along with the cattle before 3000 B.C. in N. W. India.

Is it then possible that agricultural implements developing as digging-sticks and bent sticks on the one hand and spades and hoes on the other divergently developed by functional exigencies from similar roots somewhere were hybridised into the plough. The place of inosculation would have been where the curved club functioning as a weapon was in use simultaneously with the bent stick serving as an agricultural plough. If so, where could it have taken place?

Mr. Gan here only with the help of M. Baschmakoff introduces us to the methodology of Leser. Let us hope he would make good his promise of offering a similar technological study of the different types of plough in India and perhaps her western neighbouring lands and throw some lights on the beginnings of this age of agriculture which mankind has not yet outlined.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLOUGH

IN THE COURSE OF THE CENTURIES FROM THE ETHNOGRAPHIC POINT OF VIEW.[1]

Since the dawn of history there are but few implements that are of greater interest than the plough. There is almost nothing else which exhibits in any equal degree such an absolutely decisive epoch in the course of the evolution of human progress. Edward Hahn, professor of the University of Berlin, whose scientific activity to a great extent has been devoted for the last thirty years to the study of the plough ethnographically and culturally, has been able rightly to say that the working of the earth by means of the plough has been a veritable break of the immemorial tradition of the work with the hoe; and it is this break which fixes the date of the relatively rapid extension of this invention over an immense territory extending from Ireland to India and to China and from Norway to Morocco, drawing the same limits as Universal History. This victory of agriculture over a space which may be said to be the whole world is the result of two simultaneous inventions of the human intelligence, namely, that of the form most suited for the task of breaking open the soil and that of the domestication of the force of animal traction.

A multitude of cultural phenomena appear suddenly at this decisive moment of proto-history, carrying with it the indelible stamp of the ethnic surroundings to which they are connected and out of which they take their birth. The colouring of the picture of the whole which characterises them is such that we prefer to give the pen to the pre-historian who has thought out all along on the mutual cohesion of these cultural traits the value of which is strikingly in accordance with the central fact, which is the birth of the plough.

[1] Published in *L'Anthropologie, Tome XLIII,* Nos. 1-2, under the caption, " *L'évolution de la charrue à travers les siecles au point de vue ethnographique* "

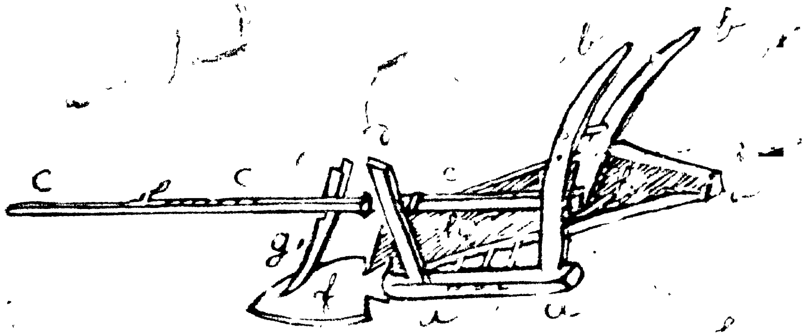


FIG. 1. The Quadrilateral Plough.—(*a*) Sole, (*b*) Handle, (*c*) Beam, (*d*) Front Supporter, (*e*) The Back Supporter, (*f*) Ploughshare, (*g*) Coulter, (*h*) Mould-board.

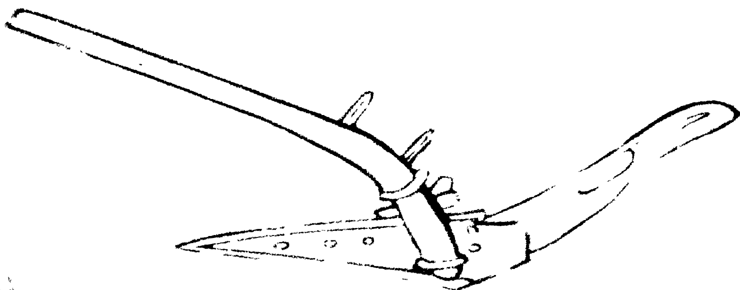


FIG. 2. The Krümel Type ("Huns Plough").

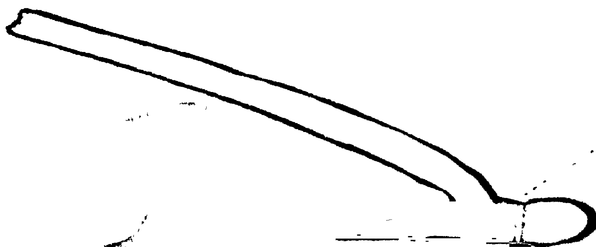


FIG. 3. The Krümel (Etruscan Type)

A ritualistic spirit dominates, according to Hahn,[1] the whole of the picture.

"By the side of the cow, the milk of which has been considered previously to be a sacred drink, appeared the bull as auxiliary, henceforth indispensable to the labourer. He has been consecrated to the sacred implement which he would draw henceforth because of that mournful ablation which he has suffered for the purpose of offering the produce to the Divinity of Fecundity. It is at this price that the bull has been raised to the dignity of a votary of the cult and the plough by its collaboration would open up the earth where the seeds are to fall. Half-dishevelled, the maternal earth would open herself up and would abjure the sterility to clothe herself up again in the cloak of green verdure reclothing her nudity. One feels that this could not but have arisen in a country where all is dried dust, unless the ground has been irrigated after being ploughed. One would feel it to have been in Chaldaea. There we know (and some Sumerian cylinders testify to it) that the opening up of the furrow is concomitant with the introduction of the seed by means of a horn which functions at the same time as the plough. This combination exists actually still in Palestine. And how many other traits accompany this sacred act of the labourer! The chariot also appears to have had a ritualistic character. The goats and sheep are at the same epoch bound up to the idea of sacrifice. The images and the names of the animals domesticated by men ascended to the various regions of the sky in Babylonia in the figures of the Zodiac and through all the length and breadth of the countries, amongst the most diverse peoples, conquered by the plough; the notion of the year of 360 days with five intercalary days became usual; the 360 degrees of the celestial equator became divided into four right angles of ninety degrees, symbols of the days in each angle. Even the feasts, mainly pertaining

[1] *Vide* Hahn's article in Max Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*," under the title "*Pflugbau*."

to agriculture (the Easter, the Equinoxes, and the two Solstices), hark back to the same origin. Did not the Passover go back to the uncertainty of the period of the flood of the rivers in Mesopotamia and Egypt? These offer a natural analogy between the Tigris and the Euphrates compared to the Nile.

*　　　*　　　*　　　*

Paul Leser, in his recently published excellent monograph entitled "Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges" (Origin and Diffusion of the Plough) is rather chary of admitting unreservedly the totality of the ideas of Hahn on the birth of the plough. He admits the great merit of the works of this master in the matter, the essential aspect of which is "to have recognised the historical significance of the agronomic revolution caused by the plough." But he goes on to point out in a number of points his disagreement with the views of his predecessor. Thus he writes in page 448 of his work as follows (Note 29):

"Hahn thinks it necessary to explain the origin of the plough by ritual representations (phallic cult); I find nothing but agricultural implements; Hahn established the filiation of the hoe to the plough, while I suppose that it is the spade which has given birth to the plough; Hahn throws back again the traction of the plough on the chariot, while I hold, on the other hand, that the manual traction preceded the yoking of animals for work, and I believe that the traction of the wattle or of the trailer is far more ancient than that of the chariot;[1] lastly, I do not believe that the first ploughs had been accompanied with contrivances for simultaneous seedings.

Thus one finds that the exposition of the ideas of the two so competent authors side by side on the ethnological origin of

[1] It is chiefly in this assertion that Leser has seen clearer than Edward Hahn. The other points of opposition are very doubtful.

plough shows how much the question that centres round the cradle of agricultural art is complicated and is still insufficiently cleared up.

Meanwhile, if the picture of the whole in all its picturesque brillance as Hahn had viewed it, is found to be assailed with contradictions of incontestable value, we have right to hope that science would arrive more quickly at the facts established by direct observations, confining our attention to the noticing of existing forms of the plough in the course of the centuries as well as the distribution of these forms in the various countries. From these it would be but a step to attempt a grouping and classification of these forms and to search their common character and ethnic origins, and finally, to the establishment of their mutual relation and their relative antiquity.

From this point of view, the great mass of the types furnished by Leser might be of great usefulness. Let us see what he has to say on the subject. Let us clear up, first of all, the significance of the thought and the opinions of the author reserving to ourselves to indicate later on what we think about some of his conclusions.

In the first few pages of his introduction, Leser gives the sketch of the type of the traditional plough of the *quadrangular form* and its constituent parts, without the aid of which the reader would scarcely understand the text, as the different types vary from each other and are distinctively characterised by the modification of one or other of these parts. We reproduce in the adjoining plate the sketch with names of each of the parts. (*Vide*, Plate No. I, Fig. 1.)

The traditional plough of the quadrilateral type is widely distributed in Germany as also in the north of Europe.

Another popular and yet much more simplified type of plough is predominant in the Mediterranean countries and Rhineland which is attributed by Leser to a Roman origin. Let us show the form such as it exists in the valley of Moselle, under the enigmatic name of "Hunspflug" (which appears to carry the

name of "Huns" ?). The characteristic feature is the curved form of the beam which joins with the posterior extremity of the sole; this last passes through the beam in order to be continued as a single supporter. This curved piece ("Krumm") followed by the concavity of the beam, is considered as the dominant element of this kind of simple plough, and we shall use the name of "Krümel," which the author applies to a great diversity of ploughs, rather southern, which he connects with this second class. (*Vide*, Plate No. I, Fig. 2.)

Let us now see the geographical extension of the two opposite types of common plough; the quadrilateral (or the "four-sided") and the 'krümel' or curved.

The quadrilateral type is distributed over Germany, Scandinavia, England, Belgium, North of France (Brittany, Normandy, Brie, Ardennes, Eastern France up to Jura), the Alpine countries, Bohemia, Italy, South-west Europe, Poland, South of Russia, Caucasus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Persia (p. 500). One finds it in Eastern Asia up to Shanghai, Shantung, Korea, Japan, Philippines and Java. The European territory of its extension appears to be separated from that of the extreme east by a region where the opposite type dominates.

The 'Krümel' (curved) type has been predominant since the Greco-Roman epoch throughout the Mediterranean basin after having had its sway in Babylonia and amongst the Etruscans. It exists at present in Italy, in the district of Grisons, in southern Alps, Carinthia, in the south and centre of France, Spain, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, Abyssinia, Gallaland, Iraq, Phrygia, Kurdistan, Western Transcaucasia, Turkestan, at the feet of the Himalayas, India, Southern China, Kwang-Tung, Japan, and Indonesia (pp. 175-273, 289-293, 302, 304, 307-310, 317-354, 364-384, 401, 415-430).

The two opposite forms of plough have, according to Leser, no relation of parentage or origin with one another. He dismisses every idea of connection between the one and the other. One cannot fix the epoch when they have appeared in history. All that

one knows is that Visigoths possessed the quadriangular plough already in time of their great invasions since the treasure of Sziillàgy-Somlyo, left by them in Transylvania at the time of their migrations (5th century of our era), already contained indication of "coulter." But we do not know to what earlier time to ascribe the first appearance of quadrilateral plough. No distinct relation of relative antiquity between this and the curved or "Krümel" type is known. The writer will be inclined to surmise a difference under the evidence of a remoter origin, if there had been any possible points of contact and struggle between the two forms, one of them displacing the other in an area where it has existed previously without doubt. But there are, to our knowledge, only some local phenomena of this class; thus, in Georgia, Imeretia, the curved or 'Krümel' type has driven out the quadrilateral plough, which is confined to-day to the eastern half of Transcaucasia (p. 526); further, the 'Huns-plough' has probably driven back the quadrilateral to the Rhine region where it dominates now; but the somewhat small surface of these overlapping regions prevents all final conclusions about the relative antiquity of these two forms of plough.

The ethnic parentage of either of these forms is a little clearer, at least this is so in regard to the "Krümel" (curved). For a long time, one has taken it to be of Indo-European origin (Braungart, 1912). But the presence of this type in Babylonia and Etruria proves strikingly its pre-Aryan origin; moreover, the striking analogy of the form of the Etruscan plough with that of Imeretia indicates clearly a Caucasian parentage (pp. 471, 483 and 565).

The quadrilateral plough is of more uncertain ethnical origin, some have successively attributed it to the Germans (Braungart, Wahle), Gauls (Meyer-Lübbe, 1909), Rhetian (according to an ambiguous passage of Pliny). The absence of this type in the south of France is against its Gaulish paternity; further, its rarity in Scandinavia is in contradiction with the idea of a German origin.

Thus Leser considers the question as undecided (p. 529) although he proves the presence of quadrilateral type in Germany. before the Roman era and that the 'coulter' as well as the "fore carriage" on wheel may probably be a Germanic invention (p. 567). In any case, it is necessary to distinguish two consecutive periods in the evolution of the quadrilateral; *the most ancient* is characterised by a single plough handle, a plate supporting the beam in front of the plough (*vide*, fig, 169 of the book) representing the plate of a "Krümel" plough, coming from Medoc), the absence of "coulter" and the fixity of the mould-board; whilst *the more evolved period* presents a quadrilateral preceded by a fore carrige on wheel, a pair of handles, the coulter and a movable mould-board. Undoubtedly the Germanic name of "pflug', appeared only in the second period and indicates from its etymology the presence of the wheel. Leser did not tell us what name one used to assign to the primitive plough.

We have seen already that Leser supposes the descent of plough from the spade and he indicates as proto-type several spades worked by hand by means of two side strings, which he has found in Korea, Armenia, Ninevah, South Arabia, the Himalayas and the Hindukush (pp.551-534).

He is an adherent of monogenistic theory and rejects the idea of multiplicity of places of the first origin of plough.

As for the most ancient appearance of plough, Leser admits its positive existence in the third millennium B.C. (in Egypt and Babylonia) and considers definitely as an uncertain hypothesis the idea of its use in Neolithic times (p. 550). He thinks it improbable that flint axes were used as plough-shares (p. 568).

* * * * *

Starting from the consideration inspired by the reading of the excellent book of Leser, we have to find out, at first, the quality of the fundamental classification that leads to the differentiation of the quadrilateral from the "Krümel" or curved type.

This principle of classification is profoundly correct in so far as it distinguishes the two forms by the clearly different shapes of elements most essential to the plough, the latter being identified also by the execution of similar work. There is then a common object achieved with the diversity of form.

Still we cannot adhere to the opinion of the author who refuses to acknowledge a connection between these two types and to define which of the two is the most ancient. The 'Krümel' (curved type) is from all evidence a much more primitive system, and we are not limited by the poverty of the sources of historical information to ignore this priority. It suffices to consider the primordial function which is drawing by a beam dragging after it a hook, which digs out the earth, in order to find out all the multiple combinations of each image of this class are only absolutely inspired by this purpose, simple and unique in the highest degree.

In order to state precisely this idea—we give here a sketch taken from the monograph of Leser, applying simultaneously to the *Etruscan simple plough* (p. 221), and *the simple plough of Papau* (Eastern Prussia) unearthed by the archaeological excavations (pl.5 of his book). (*Vide* Plate No. I, Fig. 3.)

There is a deep gulf between this form and that of our fig 1. All the multiplicity of 'Krümel' or curved type, varied though it may be, remains in an animate relationship with this primordial form *vis-à-vis* to which the quadrilateral represents a long route travelling over through an obscure evolution, the stages of which we do not know, but whose successive intention we can discern from each of its parts.

Leser supposes that the only fact of remoteness (in Transcaucasia and Mosul) of the quadrilateral type before the 'Krümel' (curved) is an argument in favour of the more recent character of the latter. By no means. This pushing back is only brought about by economic reason, since the moment when the simplicity of pieces, the cheapness of their making up and perhaps the lightness of manipulation on a soil which demands, operates in favour of

the system which triumphs. The definite victory comes to the most practical instrument, even though this implement be of much more ancient origin. But in such a case, it may be said, which would have been the cause of a long and difficult evolution, passed through in order to attain the most complicated type?

The evident reason must have been a cause which has demanded at all cost to invent this clumsy apparatus of the "*sole*" out of which are raised the two supporters and whose anterior part is furnished with the plough-share. And that imperious reason has had a temporary influence; it has ceased to exist from many centuries and from that time the struggle for the competition with the 'Krümel' or curved type turned against the quadrilateral, which must succumb sooner or later, like so many of the palaeontological types of vanished epochs. The point at issue is then to conjecture the reason, that has demanded the evolution from the 'Krümel' or curved type to the quadrilateral and which has since then ceased to exist. Now this is the reason.

Every thing leads us to believe that Leser proved with a very great circumspection in refusing to admit the existence of the plough during neolithic times. It suffices to study the megalithic monuments of Morbihan, in order to be impressed by the fact that their order and the *raison d'être* of this civilization has as its essential motive, the plough.

One knows the polished flint of conical form perforated near the handle which is considered as plough-share the adaptation of which must be very different from the modern lining of the iron frame. It must have had vertical insection of the front supporter through the hole in such a way as to give to polished stone socket the prominent forward position of modern plough-share (compare the article "pflug" (plough) by Goetz in Vol. X of Max Ebert's Reallexikon, etc. The pieces in question, found in Silesia, have been published in Vol. XI of the Reallexikon, plate 79, *a* and *d*). It is very evident that the adoption to the 'Krümel' with a stone plough-share was simply impossible.. The metal fits it perfectly. It is the reason why the Russian plough or

Sokha, has been able to hold its own up to our day with iron equipment instead of wood, in preserving the simplicity of Celtic plough, which was contemporaneous with it. It has preserved the ancestral type of "hooked plough."

But the stone plough-share was able only to be adopted to an evolved plough, which presents a platform laid down on the ground, destined to carry before it the infinitely heavy plough-share since Neolithic time. This platform has been the origin not only of the body and "sole" but also, necessarily, of the pushing towards the height of the two supporters which have raised the beam in giving to it a rectilinear character.

Later, in Iron Age, the display is found relegated to the rank of a useless staff.
